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No. 10 1938

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THE PUBLIC CAREER OF GEORGE WASHINGTON CAMPBELL*

By WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

So much emphasis has been placed upon the work of a few outstanding leaders in the public affairs of the United States during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, that historians have generally overlooked important services which were being performed by numerous individuals who seldom occupied the center of the stage. Among such men, the public career of George Washington Campbell of Tennessee may be considered as a fairly typical example. Despite the fact that as representative in Congress, senator, cabinet officer, and diplomat he participated in national affairs almost continuously from 1803 to 1820, no effort has been made hitherto to put together a connected account of his contributions in the development of the legislative, financial, and diplomatic policies of the federal government during those two decades.

Many histories of Tennessee and special studies have mentioned Campbell in connection with particular incidents in the state's history but as none of them have presented his many activities in their proper relationship to his entire career, an erroneous impression of his importance has been conveyed. Historians have neglected to inquire into Campbell's participation in both Tennessee and national politics. In Tennessee he has been outshone by two more colorful contemporary figures, John Sevier and Andrew Jackson. In national affairs he has been overshadowed by such political giants as Thomas Jefferson and John Randolph and others who followed them. The leaders of the period have been studied rather extensively, while figures like Campbell have been neglected. Such men as he, however, always play important roles in political affairs, and without a knowledge of their activities no thorough understanding of an era is possible.

At the time of Campbell's birth, in the parish of Tongue, Sutherland shire, Scotland, on February 8, 1769, his father, Archibald Campbell, was a country physician.[1] Three years later the family moved to America, and took up a small piece of land in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina,[2] in a district which had been settled by Scotch families

*Read before a meeting of the Society at Knoxville, June 4, 1938.

[1]P. M. Hamer, "George Washington Campbell," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1936), III, 452.

[2]Family Bible of the L. M. Brown Family (in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee).

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during the earlier part of the century. In this frontier environment, George grew to manhood, and throughout his life his social and political philosophy was affected by his early training.

In 1792, after having taught school for several years near his home,[3] Campbell entered the junior class of Princeton College. Two years later, after having actively participated in the affairs of forensic and literary societies on the campus, he graduated from Princeton with honor.[4] On leaving college, Campbell secured a teaching position at Trenton, New Jersey, where he also began the study of law. At the conclusion of one or two years of teaching school and reading law he returned to his home in North Carolina. Although he was admitted to the bar within a short time,[5] it seems that he was dissatisfied and either in 1797 or 1798 he moved from North Carolina to Knoxville, Tennessee.[6] For the rest of his life Tennessee was to remain his legal residence. At the time Knoxville had been designated as the capital of the new state of Tennessee, and in moving there Campbell was merely following the common practice of his day of moving westward to find a new life. In March, 1798, Governor John Sevier granted him a commission to practice law in Tennessee.[7] He had moved to Knoxville at an opportune time, for few settlers in the region had clear titles to their land. There was a continual litigation over land claims, and a capable lawyer, as Campbell soon proved himself to be, was rarely without a client. Within a few years he became one of the leading lawyers of his adopted state.[8] He rapidly acquired one of the most lucrative practices in his profession, and from his arrival in Knoxville until the autumn of 1801, he carried on his practice almost without interruption.[9] At the latter date he attempted to use his reputation as a lawyer to win election as successor to William C. C. Claiborne in the United States House of Representatives.[10]

On September 22, 1801, Claiborne had resigned as Tennessee's representative in Congress in order to become governor of the Mississippi

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[3]Hamer, "George Washington Campbell," *loc. cit.*, III, 452.

[4]Information on Campbell's college career has been furnished by Alexander Leitch, secretary of Princeton University.

[5]John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State* (Nashville, 1923), II, 83.

[6]Hugh Lawson White to Lyman C. Draper, April 6, 1836, in the Tennessee Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts (photostat copies in Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville).

[7]Tennessee Commission Book, April, 1796—June, 1801, p. 16 (Tennessee State Library, Nashville).

[8]Mark Armstrong to Andrew Jackson, August 19, 1803, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.).

[9]Knox County, Tennessee, Court Minutes, 1798-1801 (Office of County Court Clerk, Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville).

[10]*The Tennessee Gazette* (Nashville), October 7, 1801.

Territory. Four days later a resolution was adopted by the Tennessee state legislature providing for a special election for the selection of his successor.[11] The election was held on October 29 and 30, and at that time Dr. William Dickson, speaker of the Tennessee House of Representatives, was elected over three opponents, Campbell, John Rhea, and John Cocke. The fact that Dickson was in the public eye as speaker of the lower house of the General Assembly, in addition to the support he received from Andrew Jackson in the campaign were the probable reasons which brought about his election.[12] Campbell, having been defeated in his first effort at election to public office, resumed his law practice in Knoxville. In the congressional elections of 1803, however, he again announced his candidacy.[13] In the interval between the congressional elections of 1801 and 1803 Tennessee had been allotted two additional seats in the lower house of Congress as a result of the increase of population shown in the census of 1800, but since the state had not yet been divided into congressional districts the 1803 election of the state's three representatives was state-wide. Accordingly, Campbell had better chances of success in his second attempt to gain public office than he had in 1801.

During the campaign, Campbell supported ex-Governor John Sevier for election over the incumbent, Archibald Roane, in the gubernatorial election which was to take place on the same day as the congressional elections. It would have been political suicide for a beginner in politics, who was also a resident of Knoxville, to have done otherwise. Campbell, as well as his three opponents, the same three whom he opposed in the congressional election of 1801, was also particularly outspoken in his support of President Jefferson.[14] On these issues he was elected. His ability as a speaker,[15] which he had developed while teaching school, during his attendance at Princeton, and since beginning the practice of law, probably gained him many votes. In the election he received 9,515 votes; Dickson, up for reëlection, received 9,682; Rhea, 7,382; and Cocke, 5,511. Sevier defeated Roane by a vote of 6,780 to 4,923.[16]

Campbell began his duties as one of Tennessee's representatives in Congress on October 17, 1803. During his tenure of office in the House of Representatives, which continued until March, 1809, he demonstrated in his speeches and his votes on measures before the House for passage

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[11]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1801, p. 35; *Senate Journal*, 1801, p. 31.

[12]*The Tennessee Gazette*, October 14, 1801; *Annals of Congress*, 7 Cong., 1 Sess. (1801-1802), 309. Cited hereafter as *Annals*.

[13]*The Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser*, August 17, 1803.

[14]*Ibid.*

[15]De Alva Stanwood Alexander, *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Boston, 1916), 301, states that Campbell was a most fluent and powerful speaker while serving Congress.

[16]Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1803, pp. 12-13.

that he was always aware of the problems and desires of the people living in his state and region. In February, 1804, when a Senate bill providing for the establishment of a territorial government in the newly erected Territory of Orleans was received in the House, Campbell, as a Westerner, became one of its leading critics. As provided by the bill the people of the territory were to have no part in deciding governmental policies. In the course of several lengthy speeches Campbell stated his belief that a government should be established in the western region modeled after that which existed in the Mississippi Territory, under which the citizens, to a large extent, determined their own form of representative government. Particularly, he was opposed to the property qualifications for the privilege of the suffrage; he opposed the provision that jury trial should be guaranteed only in cases involving capital crimes, and following Amendment VII of the United States constitution, suggested that all trials "should be by jury, in all civil cases above the value of twenty dollars"; and offered an amendment to the original bill which provided for the election of a territorial legislature in lieu of a legislative council appointed by the president.[17] Although none of his proposed changes were accepted, Campbell's opposition and that of certain other members of Congress from the West resulted in a compromise when the measure was enacted into law. All provisions of the bill which the Westerners believed to be detrimental to democratic privileges were limited to one year.[18]

While sitting in the second session of the Eighth Congress, Campbell attempted to put through a measure which was of a purely local nature, namely, a bill providing for the construction of a post road from Knoxville to New Orleans. If such a road had been constructed it of course would have been of great benefit to the farmers and merchants of East Tennessee. Campbell offered three arguments in support of his resolution for the road. He stated that it would insure a direct route for the transportation of the mail from Knoxville to New Orleans; that it would afford a commercial outlet for the settlements along the Tombigbee River; and that it would lessen the distance to be covered, since the route then followed went from Knoxville to Nashville, thence to Natchez and New Orleans.[19] Like other Westerners of his time, Campbell wished that his proposal be carried out at federal expense.[20] Congress, however, refused to approve his resolution, and consideration of it was postponed to an indefinite date.[21]

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[17] *Annals*, 8 Cong., 1 Sess. (1803-1804), 1063-1067, 1078-1079, 1129-1130, 1293-1300.
[18] *Ibid.*, 8 Cong., 1 Sess. (1803-1804), 1199.
[19] *Ibid.*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), 1185-1188.
[20] *Ibid.*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), 680.
[21] *Ibid.*, 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), 1188.

During his first term as representative, Campbell became one of President Jefferson's closest and most consistent followers in Congress, and on nearly every occasion thereafter during his long service in Congress he voted favorably on administration measures submitted for passage. He took an active part in Jefferson's extensive fight against the federal courts, serving as one of the House managers in both the Pickering and Chase trials. He was not called upon to speak during the Pickering trial, as the prosecution was conducted for the most part by older representatives, particularly by John Randolph of Roanoke, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means.[22] In the Chase trial, however, he spoke twice, but on neither occasion added any argument of great weight to what had already been stated by the other partisan prosecutors.[23] Despite this fact, he indicated pointedly that he was thoroughly in accord with the president's desire to remove judges from office solely for political reasons. Later, in January, 1808, after he had earned a position of importance in the House as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, he further indicated his belief that judges should be outsted for partisan reasons by offering to the House for its consideration an amendment to the federal constitution providing for the removal of federal judges on the joint resolution of the two houses of Congress when such a resolution had been accepted by a three-fifths vote of each house.[24] But Campbell's resolution was treated like others similar to it offered during Jefferson's administration. It was not referred to committee and thus was never brought before the House for formal discussion.

Leaving Washington when the Eighth Congress adjourned, Campbell returned to Knoxville; and shortly afterward he made a bid for reëlection through the issuance of a *Circular Letter to the Citizens of Tennessee,* which was published in the leading papers of the state and also printed in pamphlet form for distribution. On the basis of this *Letter,* in which he informed his constituency of his actions in their behalf and in support of Jefferson while serving in Congress,[25] he was reëlected without opposition in the newly created congressional district of Hamilton.[26] Then, on his return to Washington, he had the political acumen to attempt to put through a bill which had long been desired by Tennesseans. The measure was concerned with two matters. First, it

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[22]The proceedings of the Pickering trial in the Senate may be found in *ibid.,* 8 Cong., 1 Sess. (1803-1804), 315-367.

[23]*Ibid.,* 8 Cong., 2 Sess. (1804-1805), 329-344, 344-353.

[24]*Ibid.,* 10 Cong., 1 Sess. (1807-1808), 1525.

[25]*The Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser,* April 10, 1805.

[26]See Secretary of State Historical Records, Box A (Tennessee State Library), for returns on the election. Campbell received over 5,000 votes, more than the combined votes received by Sevier and Roane in Hamilton district for the gubernatorial election of the same year.

provided for the improvement of navigation of Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River; second, the resolution contained a section stipulating the extinguishment of Indian claims to land located in south central Tennessee. The measure, however, like others of a local nature introduced during the Ninth Congress, was postponed in order that legislation of national importance might be considered.[27] For the next eight years Campbell confined his political activities almost entirely to national affairs, and it was not until after the war with England was brought to a close that he again turned his attention seriously toward local matters. During the year 1804 England had begun her depredations against American shipping interests which were later to lead to war between the two countries. In the determination of American policies to be followed in regard to England, Campbell took a leading role.

While serving in the Ninth Congress, Campbell was one of the most outspoken exponents of the imposition of a non-intercourse act against England, and was a leading advocate of the Nicholson bill, passed by Congress in April, 1806, excluding certain English goods from the United States.[28] During the same period he supported Jefferson's big navy program, and methodically voted in the affirmative for all appropriations to be used in fortifying American ports and harbors and for the construction of additional gunboats.[29] By the year 1807 he was one of the most unreserved members of Congress in support of a strong stand against England.

In August, 1807, he was reëlected as a member of the national House of Representatives.[30] Again he represented the Hamilton district and again he was reëlected without opposition. On his return to Washington, in reward for his consistent support of Jefferson, he was appointed as chairman of the most important committee in the House, that of Ways and Means. While serving in this capacity as majority floor leader during the Tenth Congress, he was one of Jefferson's important spokesmen in the House. When the embargo bill was passed, in December, 1807, he was one of the most outspoken in Congress who favored it.[31] Moreover, on the same day on which the embargo measure was enacted, he wrote the editor of a Knoxville newspaper that the only way to preserve peace between the United States and England was "by preparing for war."[32] During the remainder of his service in the House his activities were centered upon the questions of increasing the army

[27] *Annals*, 9 Cong., 1 Sess. (1805-1806), 297-298, 575.
[28] *Ibid.*, 9 Cong., 1 Sess. (1805-1806), 706-724, 824.
[29] *Ibid.*, 9 Cong., 1 Sess. (1805-1806), 387-388, 462, 1287.
[30] Tennessee Commission Book, May, 1807—October, 1815, p. 56 (Tennessee State Library).
[31] *Annals*, 10 Cong., 1 Sess. (1807-1808), 1222.
[32] Campbell to Editor, December 22, 1807, *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette*, January 6, 1808.

and navy and maintaining the embargo. On January 8, 1808, Congress passed a bill requiring ship owners to give bond that they would not violate the embargo. This measure raised a storm of criticism in New England, and congressional leaders from that section began an extended effort to bring about a repeal of the measure. During the course of the lengthy discussion, Barent Gardenier, who represented an upstate region of New York which was carrying on a profitable trade with Canada in opposition to the government's wishes, and Campbell became involved in a bitter personal dispute over the embargo. Each made insulting remarks about the other and about the other's political party.[33] Leaders of both the administration party and the opposition stated on the floor of the House that they were willing to carry the matter to the field of honor. The day afer the invectives were exchanged, Campbell challenged Gardenier to a duel; and several days later the affair took place, with Campbell wounding his opponent through the arm and chest.[34] Having thus demonstrated his willingness to risk his life for his politics, he returned to the House as if nothing had happened,[35] and continued his activities in support of the administration.

During the second session of the Tenth Congress Campbell's support of Jefferson was centered in the question of the embargo and non-intercourse. At the time he was acting as chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in that capacity he submitted a report, on November 22, 1808, in which he maintained that it was impossible to repeal the embargo, because war would be the only other alternative. His report recited in clear and compact form the injuries received by the United States from England and France since the year 1804, and at the conclusion of the report the House indicated its approval by ordering that five thousand copies be printed for distribution.[36]

During the great part of the remainder of the session, after rendering his report on foreign affairs, Campbell was absent from the House because of illness. When present, however, he advocated at every opportunity a strong national program, and on numerous occasions his speeches concerning relations with England indicated that he had developed into one of the leading nationalists in Congress. His last speeches as a member of the House occurred during the discussion, in February, 1809, of the repeal of the embargo. Throughout the debate he advocated retention of the original act and of additions made to it since its passage in December, 1807. In pursuing this course he went against the public

[33] *Annals,* 10 Cong., 1 Sess. (1807-1808), 1654, 1667-1673.

[34] See *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* March 30, 1808, for the complete correspondence concerning the duel.

[35] Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Dairy From 1795 to 1848* (Philadelphia, 1876), 355, 517.

[36] For the complete report, see *Annals,* 10 Cong., 2 Sess. (1808-1809), 514-521.

wishes of Jefferson, but as he explained in a private letter to the president, he felt bound by his honor to oppose the repeal since he had always been a strong supporter of the embargo in the debates of Congress. Besides, he was of the opinion that war would result between the United States and England if the embargo were removed. If no restrictions were placed on American merchants they would renew their extensive commerce with the world. American vessels and their cargoes would again be confiscated by England, and public opinion in the United States would be aroused to such a pitch that there would develop a general demand for war. Such a possibility should be averted. The people of the United States would not stand for another affair similar to the *Chesapeake-Leopard* incident. Next time war would be the outcome.[37] That Campbell's diagnosis of the situation was correct was borne out by later events.

On returning to Knoxville in the spring of 1809, Campbell announced that because of ill health he would not seek reëlection to Congress.[38] In November, 1809, however, he again entered public life as judge of the newly created Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, to which position he was elected by the unanimous vote of the members of the state legislature.[39] During the next year and a half he and his colleague, Hugh Lawson White, sat annually with the circuit court judges in the following towns in the state: Jonesboro, Knoxville, Carthage, Nashville, and Clarksville; and when sitting thus they comprised the highest court of appeal in Tennessee.[40] Campbell did not become an eminent judge, and in every decision which the supreme court rendered while he was on the bench he followed the opinion of White.[41] It seems that White completely overshadowed him while they served together on the court. Furthermore, Campbell's tenure of office as a member of the court was too short to enable him to establish a reputation as a jurist. His private correspondence of the period also indicates that his chief interest lay in Washington and in national affairs. A further indication in this direction is the fact that he gladly accepted election to the United States Senate in October, 1811, when the state legislature offered him the opportunity of completing the unexpired term of Senator Jenkins Whiteside, who had resigned from office.[42]

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[37]Campbell to Jefferson, February 25, 1809 (in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee).

[38]*Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* April 15, 1809.

[39]Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1809, p. 187.

[40]*Ibid.,* 173, 183; *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* November 4, 1809.

[41]Minute Book, Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals, 1810-1811, *passim* (Tennessee State Library); original decisions, written by Campbell and White, may be found in Section A, Bins 1 and 2, Tennessee State Archives (Nashville).

[42]*Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* September 23, October 7, 1811; *The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* October 1, 8, 1811.

Shortly after taking his seat as senator in the Twelfth Congress, Campbell attempted to put a bill through Congress which would allow the state of Tennessee to satisfy military land grants in that section of the state which had been set aside as the Congressional Reservation in 1806. The Reservation included all land located west of the Tennessee River as well as a wide adjacent strip east of the river lying in the south central section of the state.[43] Some of the most desirable land in Tennessee lay in the Reservation, and those Tennesseans holding North Carolina warrants issued during and after the American Revolution wished permission to satisfy their claims there. Accordingly, before leaving for Washington in 1811 Campbell was instructed to advocate a congressional measure which would comply with their wishes. Although he tried to carry out his instructions, he was unsuccessful, because at the time the United States was on the verge of war with England. As he explained to Governor Willie Blount of Tennessee, Congress was too busy with national problems of vital importance to bother with matters of local interest. Campbell informed the governor, however, that at the proper time he would attend to the interests of his constituency.[44] Six years later he was to carry out this promise.

When he returned to Congress in 1811 Campbell's main desire, it seems, was war with England. During his service in the lower house he had made a special study of England's attacks on American shipping, and apparently he had never given up hope between 1808 and 1811 that England would receive punishment for her transgressions. During his first term in the Senate, as is the custom, he took part only in routine matters of business. Throughout the session, on the other hand, he carried on a continuous correspondence with friends in Tennessee. Many of his letters were published in local newspapers, and every one printed indicates that he had definitely become a "war-hawk."[45] He was particularly desirous of gaining possession of Canada, but unlike certain other Westerners confined his imperialistic desires to Canada. No available material indicates that he showed any interest in taking over Florida from Spain. Writing to Jackson on April 10, 1812, he stated his belief that war was unavoidable,[46] and on June 18, the day after war was declared, he wrote Governor Blount that the United States had no choice. It either had to go to war or submit ignominiously to England. On his part, he was particularly pleased that war had been

[43] *American State Papers, Public Lands,* I, 584-585.

[44] Campbell to Willie Blount, February 24, 1812, Harriet Turner Deposit (Library of Congress).

[45] Campbell to Editor, November 29, 1811, *The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* December 9, 1811; Campbell to Willie Blount, November 29, 1811, *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* December 16, 1811; Campbell to Jackson, December 24, 1811, Jackson Papers.

[46] Campbell to Jackson, April 10, 1812, Jackson Papers.

chosen rather than submission. He had advocated war and voted for it.[47]

A short time after the declaration of war Campbell was made chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and in that capacity he showed much interest and activity in improving the organization and efficiency of the army in the conduct of the war. He was especially interested in increasing the bounty given to all those who enlisted in the army as common soldiers, for he believed that the United States would fail to maintain a competent army in the field unless its soldiers were well paid. Furthermore, he wished to improve the quartermaster corps, to insure better discipline in the army, and to increase the number of soldiers to such an extent that the American army could immediately take the offensive.[48] Measures carrying out some of his wishes were passed by Congress,[49] and during the first stages of the war it seemed that his and his committee's plans of reorganization of the army would result in victory for the United States. Such an outcome of course did not occur, but it is possible that had the war department followed Campbell's plan to improve the discipline in the army and to increase the bounty given for enlistment, the United States would have had more success in its conduct of the war.

During the first year and a half of the war Campbell continued in his unremitting support of the administration and became recognized as an administration leader in the Senate.[50] President Madison rewarded him, in February, 1814, for his party loyalty by appointing him secretary of the treasury,[51] and he thus became the first person from the region west of the Appalachian Mountains to hold a cabinet position. He remained in the treasury department for only seven months, and during that time was faced with a most perplexing problem, that of inducing non-combatants to support the war by lending money to the government. What his policy was, through what vicissitudes it passed, and how it was thwarted by the refusal of business men and bankers to support the government form a most interesting chapter in the study of Campbell's public career. On April 2, 1814, he notified the public that government bonds to the amount of ten million dollars would be open for sale until May 2. After publicizing the loan, he wrote to various bankers throughout the United States begging them to demonstrate their confidence in their government by subscribing to the bond issue. Most of

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[47]Campbell to Blount, June 18, 1812, *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* July 13, 1812.
[48]Campbell to Department of War, December 21, 1812, Letters Received, 1812, Secretary of War, Box 158, Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division (Washington). Cited hereafter as A. G. O., O. R. D.
[49]*Annals,* 12 Cong., 2 Sess. (1812-1813), 40, 45, 63.
[50]Henry Adams, *History of the United States* (New York, 1921), VII, 398.
[51]*The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* March 8, 1814.

the money of the country, however, was concentrated in New England, where those who had money refused to take up bonds because of their opposition to the war; and whenever the few who bought bonds did so they struck hard bargains. Campbell was forced to meet the lenders' terms, and the entire issue of ten million dollars was sold at eighty-eight dollars on the hundred with six per cent interest.[52]

By the first week of July, 1814, financial affairs of the government came to a crisis and there was little money left in the treasury. Accordingly, Campbell was forced to float another loan, this time for six million dollars. By August 22, however, the day on which the sale was to close, only a few purchases had been made.[53] Two days later, with the capture of Washington, the credit of the government was lowered still further. A week after the fall of Washington the government had so little available money that Campbell was forced to re-open the six million dollar loan which had closed on August 22. But by the middle of September he had sold only $2,930,000 of the entire issue, and then at eighty dollars on the hundred with six per cent interest.[54] For this reason, on September 26, Campbell, sick and disillusioned, resigned his position as secretary. Like both his predecessor, Albert Gallatin, and his successor, Alexander J. Dallas, he had been able to borrow money only at exorbitant rates. In his letter of resignation to Madison, he stated it as his hope that his position would be filled by a person who might be more successful with the capitalists in the country.[55]

When he returned to Nashville, where he had moved from Knoxville in January, 1810, in order to look after his property located in the central part of the state,[56] Campbell fully intended to remain out of politics for several years.[57] In October, 1815, however, he was elected to a full term as United States senator and accepted the position.[58] Although on his return to Washington he resumed his support of presidential policies, his activities for the next three years were for the most part centered in the matter of land legislation concerning certain sections of Tennessee. Within two months of his arrival he and John Williams, also sen-

[52]Finance Report, Secretary of the Treasury, 1790-1814, p. 536 (Division of Bookkeeping and Warrants, Department of the Treasury, Washington).

[53]"Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, September 26, 1814," in *State Papers,* 13 Cong., 3 Sess. (1814-1815), 21-22.

[54]Finance Report, Secretary of the Treasury, 1790-1814, pp. 540-541.

[55]Campbell to Madison, September 26, 1814, Campbell Correspondence (photostat copies, Tennessee State Library).

[56]When Campbell moved to Nashville from Knoxville, he owned approximately five thousand acres of land in central Tennessee. Tennessee Land Grants, September 4, 1807—March 3, 1846, Book A, 258-259, 274, 437, Book B, 244, 577, Tennessee Land Office and Archives (Nashville); *The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* January 19, 1810.

[57]Campbell to John Norvelle, January 19, 1815, Campbell Papers (Library of Congress).

[58]Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1815, pp. 96-97.

ator from Tennessee, were appointed by Governor Joseph McMinn as agents to negotiate a land treaty with the Cherokee Indians of East Tennessee.[59] When they attempted to conclude a treaty, however, the Indians refused to give up their claims to the land in question, and Campbell and Williams then placed the matter in the hands of the secretary of war, William H. Crawford. After investigation, the secretary learned that both the Cherokee and the Chickasaw were claiming another section of land in Tennessee, "west of a line drawn due south from that point of the Tennessee river intersected by the eastern boundary of Madison County."[60] On learning this, Crawford took over the disputed territory to be used by the United States. In return, land west of the Mississippi River was ceded to the two tribes.[61]

In his hope that the state of Tennessee would immediately gain from the settlement made by Crawford, Campbell was disappointed, and for the next year he sought to put a bill through Congress which would give Tennessee undisputed possession of the land acquired from the Indians, which was located in the Congressional Reservation which had been erected in 1806. In the end, a compromise was reached, and on March 26, 1818, a bill of his allowing holders of North Carolina military warrants to take up land in the Reservation was approved by Congress.[62] It may be that the insatiable desire for land which characterized early Tennessee was partially satisfied. If Campbell planned to buy up military warrants for land located in the newly opened region, however, he was unable to do so personally, for less than a month after the passage of the measure his long support of his party was rewarded when he was appointed American minister to Russia.[63]

Immediately after his appointment, Campbell conferred with John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, about his new duties.[64] On June 28 he received his instructions,[65] and a few weeks later embarked for Europe. En route to St. Petersburg, he delivered a ratified treaty between the United States and Sweden to an American agent who conveyed it

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[59]McMinn to Campbell and Williams, December 16, 1815, in "McMinn Correspondence on the Subject of Indian Treaties in the Years 1815, 1816, and 1817," *The American Historical Magazine,* VIII (July, 1903), 377-379.

[60]Crawford to Return J. Meigs, June 24, 1816, Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1816, Indian Agents (Archives of the Indian Office, Washington).

[61]Jackson to Campbell, December 22, 1816, Letters Received, 1816, Secretary of War, Box 228, A. G. O., O. R. D.

[62]*Annals,* 16 Cong., 1 Sess. (1817-1818), 293, 1568. During the early part of 1816, when Campbell and Williams had carried out their commission from McMinn, they had found the Cherokees unwilling to part with land in East Tennessee. Campbell and Williams to McMinn, April 18, 1818, "McMinn Correspondence on the Subject of Indian Treaties in the Years 1815, 1816, and 1817," *loc. cit.,* VIII, 379-380.

[63]James Monroe to Campbell, April 11, 1818, Campbell Papers.

[64]Charles Francis Adams (ed.), *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* IV, 80.

[65]Adams to Campbell, June 28, 1818, in United States Ministers, Instructions, Department of State, VIII, 220 (Archives of the Department of State, Washington).

to the Swedish government.[66] Stopping for a short time at Copenhagen, he gained permission of the Danish government to send an American agent to the island of St. Thomas.[67] On his arrival in Russia, Czar Alexander I and his minister of foreign affairs, Count Nesselrode, were attending the conference then taking place at Aix-la-Chapelle, and accordingly Campbell spent his time until their return in acquainting himself with the other ministers and ambassadors accredited to the Russian court.

After his arrival in Russia, Campbell kept Adams informed on the almost unpredictable attitude of Alexander I toward the South American situation, in which Adams was so greatly interested. On October 31, 1818, Campbell forwarded some welcome news to the secretary. He had learned that no final action would be taken at the conference of Aix-la-Chapelle in regard to Spanish interests in South America. A short time afterward he wrote that the United States should not overlook the importance of the Russian Czar's position in Europe, for at the time he was "without doubt the great arbiter of the politics of Europe; . . ."[68] In February, 1819, he reported that as the leading European exponent of the cause of legitimacy, Alexander I would probably favor Spain in its attempts to subdue its revolted colonies in South America.[69] In May, however, he was able to inform Adams that the Czar was not likely to interfere on behalf of Spain under any conditions unless he were backed by other leading European countries.[70] Campbell was of the opinion that the emperor did not have a "great mind," and that his "real character is no doubt that of a calculating politician, rather cautious than enterprising, and not ashamed to use flattery." There was also no doubt that he was determined to maintain his commanding position which he held in Europe.[71] That Campbell was correct in his diagnosis of Alexander I and of his relations with Spain was borne out by later events. The Czar not only refused to intercede on behalf of Spain in South America, but also sided with the United States when Spain failed to ratify the Florida treaty, which was drawn up in February, 1819. When Campbell notified Adams, on October 13, 1819, that Russia probably would not stand by Spain in its refusal to ratify

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[66]G. W. Campbell, Diary During My Ministry to Russia, July 3, 1818—October 31, 1820, August 31, 1818 (in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee). Cited hereafter as Campbell Diary.

[67]Campbell to Adams, September 15, 1818, in Russia, George W. Campbell, July 21, 1818—September 12, 1820, Department of State (Archives of the Department of State). Cited hereafter as Russia, George W. Campbell.

[68]Campbell to Adams, December 22, 1818, *ibid.*

[69]Campbell to Adams, February 18, 1819, *ibid.*

[70]Campbell to Adams, May 3, 1819, *ibid.*

[71]Campbell to James Monroe, March 20, 1819, Monroe Papers (Library of Congress).

the Florida treaty,[72] he eased the tension in the department of state to a great extent. The information was of course of great value to Adams, and here again Campbell's diagnosis was proved later to be correct.

During April, 1819, three of Campbell's children died of typhus fever,[73] and on May 4 he requested his recall, in order to protect the health of his remaining son.[74] His request was granted the following November, but because of weather conditions he was unable to begin his homeward journey until July 8, 1820.[75] He arrived in Nashville on January 7 of the following year.[76] For the next ten years he practiced law, attended to land interests which he had acquired before going to Russia and to which he added extensively after his return, and became one of the leading supporters of the Democratic party in Tennessee. In July, 1832, his old friend, President Andrew Jackson, appointed him as one of the three members of the French Spoliation Claims Commission, which was to carry out certain provisions of the Rives Treaty with France.[77] During the next three years the commission sat in Washington, and helped bring to a successful close a diplomatic tangle which had plagued the United States and France for more than twenty-five years. During the Napoleonic wars, France had issued a series of decrees imposing restrictions on American commerce. Depredations on American shipping had occurred, and from 1814 until 1831 American ministers to France had attempted unsuccessfully to settle the question of claims held by Americans against the French government. According to the Rives Treaty, negotiated in that year, twenty-five million francs were paid to the United States to be distributed among the claimants; and the Spoliation Claims Commission was established to render decisions on their petitions for awards.[78]

The commission sat intermittently from August, 1832, through December, 1835. Of the 3,148 petitions involving 883 attacks on American ships, 1,567 petitions involving 361 spoliations were declared valid, and claims amounting to $51,834,170.15 were made the basis for the

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[72]Campbell to Adams, October 13, 1819, Russia, George W. Campbell.

[73]Campbell Diary, March 30—April 19, 1819.

[74]Campbell to Monroe, May 15, 1819, Monroe Papers. In July, 1812, Campbell had married Harriet Stoddert, daughter of Benjamin Stoddert, secretary of navy in John Adams' cabinet. Family Bible of the L. M. Brown Family.

[75]Campbell Diary, July 8, 1820.

[76]*The Nashville Whig,* January 10, 1821.

[77]Journal of the Claims Commission Under the Convention Between the United States and France, Concluded July 4, 1831, Department of State, September 17, 1832 (in Archives of the Department of State). Cited hereafter as Official Journal of the Claims Commission. Campbell's personal account of the work of the Commission may be found in George Washington Campbell, Journal of the French Spoliations Claims Commission, September 17, 1832—December 31, 1835 (Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress).

[78]*Register of Debates,* 22 Cong., 1 Sess. (1831-1832), 1201.

award of $9,352,193.47.[79] Campbell took an important part in the deliberations over the many complicated problems which the commission had to solve. Only on rare occasions was he absent from the meetings, and when he was absent the other two commissioners usually refrained from conducting any business. Throughout the official journal of the commission Campbell's signature always appears first when the members approve the minutes of the day's business.[80] Of course, this may have resulted from respect for his age, for at the time the commission was established he had reached the age of sixty-three years. During those years, however, he had had a most eventful and useful career and many experiences; if a chairman of the commission was selected he was probably the member who served in that capacity.

With this summary of his public career in mind, a brief characterization of Campbell may be attempted. Physically, his carriage was so erect and his stature so impressive that he presented a commanding personality. His private correspondence indicates that he always aspired to improve himself, and through his many contacts with polite society in Washington and in Europe he transformed the usual roughness of a frontier boy into the habits of a polished gentleman. In his later life he was considered as one of the best informed men in Tennessee. After his return from Russia, he became quite wealthy and, as the owner of numerous slaves and a beautiful home in Nashville, his social position was secure.

In general, Campbell was a product of the Tennessee frontier and he always thought of himself as an agent of the West. He was never concerned actively, however, with the problem of opening up new regions for settlement, but rather with the equally important task of improving the economic and social conditions of a region which had been shown to be desirable by more intrepid members of the Scotch race. It is true that he was twice pulled westward by the same force which attracted many of his contemporaries, but he went both times as a townsman rather than as a backwoodsman. Like a majority of the political leaders of the frontier of his period, he became a land speculator. The evidence, however, does not indicate that land speculation was one of his chief activities. Using the profession of law as a stepping stone he entered public life. He had the attribute of close study of every question with which he was faced, and through his ability as a speaker he was able to express his ideas and convictions. In respect for his qualifications and application, the Jeffersonian party maintained him

[79]Report of the Board of Commissioners Organized Under the Convention Between the United States and France, . . . Concluded July 4, 1831 (Archives of the Department of State).

[80]Official Journal of the Claims Commission, *passim.*

in important political positions for more than two decades. The evidence seems to indicate that he was the most active Western participant in national affairs during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Next to Henry Clay he was perhaps the most active politician in national affairs during the entire Jeffersonian period. In his support of presidential policies during the era, as well as his activities in promoting the interests of the West, he may be considered as one of the most important early spokesmen of that region.

On February 17, 1848, Campbell died at the advanced age of seventy-nine years. Two days later, the following announcement of his death, which includes an excellent brief summary of his public career, was published in the *Tri-Weekly Union:*

> Judge Campbell emigrated to this State, from North Carolina, at an early day, and was soon called into public service, in which he contributed much to that share of influence which Tennessee has ever since maintained in the councils of the Union.
>
> He has occupied seats in each House of Congress, was chairman of the most important committees in the House during Mr. Jefferson's administration, and was chairman of the committee on Military Affairs in the Senate when war was declared. He was also Secretary of the Treasury under Mr. Madison, and was afterwards appointed Minister to Russia by Mr. Monroe.
>
> He was a patriot who secured the confidence of the country—laborious in his investigations—accurate in his information—steadfast in opinion—upright in purpose—successful in his pursuits, kind and benevolent to all and generous to the needy. He has left a bereaved family—with a wide circle of friends, and none with cause of enmity.

FELIX GRUNDY AND THE DEPRESSION OF 1819 IN TENNESSEE*

By Joseph H. Parks

Felix Grundy was born in Berkeley county, Virginia, on September 11, 1777. His father, George Grundy, had migrated to the colonies about 1750 and settled in western Virginia. In 1779 the Grundy family, fleeing before the Indian attacks, moved into Pennsylvania and then joined the emigrants bound for the newly opened Kentucky country. It was in that region that young Felix grew to manhood.

After reading law in the office of George Nicholas for a period of two years, Grundy was admitted to the Washington county, Kentucky, bar, and in the following year was appointed county attorney. In 1799 Washington county sent him as a delegate to the state constitutional convention and in the following year elected him as one of its representatives in the legislature, which position he held for three sessions. He moved to Nelson county in 1803 and was out of the legislature during that year, but in 1804 and for two sessions thereafter his adopted county returned him to that body.

As a legislator Grundy made himself prominent by his persistent fight to establish a system of circuit courts for the state of Kentucky. It was also as a legislator that he first clashed with the brilliant young Henry Clay, thus beginning a rivalry which, with the exception of the period of the War of 1812, was to continue throughout their political careers. Those two young representatives led the opposing forces in the fight to repeal the charter of Kentucky's first banking house, the Kentucky Insurance Company. Although Grundy eventually lost the fight in favor of repeal, he had made himself conspicuous and exhibited his talents. In recognition of his ability, he was commissioned a justice on the bench of the Kentucky court of appeals in 1806, and in 1807 was made chief justice.

Grundy had hardly become established as chief justice when he suddenly resigned late in 1807 and moved his family to Nashville, Tennessee. His action was in all probability prompted by the legal and political opportunities which that frontier section held out to an ambitious young lawyer.

In politics Grundy was a Republican. In 1811 West (now Middle) Tennessee elected him as its representative to Congress, and he took his seat along with Clay, Calhoun, and the other young Republicans who forced the War of 1812 upon the United States. By his bold denunciation of the opposition he made himself a target for Federalist invective

*Read before a meeting of the Society at Knoxville, May 6, 1938.

but became the idol of his constituents. From the beginning of the Twelfth Congress Grundy served as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee and during his second term he was the recognized administration leader in the House of Representatives. Owing to the poor health of his wife Grundy resigned his seat in Congress in 1814 and retired to private life and to the practice of law.

During and immediately following the War of 1812 the West reached a new high in prosperity. Into that section had flowed money for the raising and supporting of troops,[1] and hard times in the East had caused many persons to flock to the West in hope of relief. Money and new settlers had tended to bring about an increase in the value of lands. That value was further increased in the Southwest by extension in the production of cotton. The fact that England was anxious to purchase American cotton at prices ranging as high as thirty-four cents[2] had furnished a great stimulus for an increase in production. Pressure of these forces led to over-expansion, inflation and much speculation in the Tennessee region. The crash came in 1819, leaving both farmer and merchant in a desperate plight.

Most of the farming in Tennessee was done on a small scale, and the average producer could not ship his cotton directly to New Orleans. He was forced to sell at an early date in order to finance another crop. Thus the sale was made to the local merchant, and the banks handled the paper and came in for a huge part of the profits.[3] The crash caught many persons heavily involved with the banks. Debts due to the Nashville Bank and its branches alone had reached the huge figure of one and one-half million dollars.[4] Thomas Talbot, a stockholder in both the Farmers and Mechanics Bank and the Nashville Bank offered to sell one hundred shares of stock to any one who would take up his notes in those banks to the amount of the stocks.[5] Those persons who owed the banks were subject to being sued by them and yet could not force those creditors to accept anything other than specie in payment of debts.

As a safeguard against the draining off of its specie the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Nashville suspended specie payment on June 18, 1819, and the Nashville Bank followed suit on June 22. At a public meeting sponsored by the banking interest and held at the Nashville courthouse on June 23, resolutions were adopted urging all banks

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[1]T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 225.

[2]T. P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy," *American Historical Review*, XXXIII (October, 1927), 22.

[3]T. P. Abernethy, "The Early Development of Commerce and Banking in Tennessee," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIV (December, 1927), 331.

[4]Report of the Bank published in the Nashville *Gazette*, June 26, 1819.

[5]Nashville *Gazette*, July 17, 1819.

to suspend specie payment but insisting that the people not allow such a step to "impair the credit" of bank paper.[6]

Rumor was quickly afloat that all the Nashville banks were insolvent and would never resume specie payment. The people were panic stricken. What had become of all of the money, anyway? The Nashville *Gazette* said that it had gone "for an indulgence in the most unbounded extravagance—the purchase of articles designed more for show than for use —for the poor gratification of exhibiting stile [*sic.*] beyond stile living neighbors—for the momentary gratification of having an equippage to outshine, the object of yesterday's amazement, and which in turn is to be outshone to-morrow. And for these and such like gratifications, men of sense, capable reflection, having suffered their pride to wage an exterminating war upon their purses. . . ."[7] Had not peddlers of "shawls a yard square and an inch thick each, three for a dollar" carried off $40,000 in specie from the Fayetteville Bank alone during the first six months of 1819? The gullible public had become the "prey of the mercenary, sharp, keen cleverness of the importer of *cheap goods*. . . ."[8] The *Clarion* blamed the plight of the people upon the "unprecedented influx of goods from abroad" which had been going on for the past three years.[9] All agreed that the people were involved beyond their ability to pay.

Flying rumors and conflicting reasoning as to the cause of the panic merely added to its seriousness. The Nashville branch of the Bank of the State of Tennessee closed the safe on its specie on June 29, and by July every bank in Middle Tennessee had suspended specie payment.[10] All efforts to stimulate confidence in bank paper were futile. Willie Barrow advertised to sell his property consisting of numerous houses and lots in Nashville in order to pay his debts, but added that since the banks were "breaking as well as individuals," he wished no bank notes. Thomas Yeatman, a Nashville merchant, gave notice that those who did not pay up immediately would have their credit shut off.[11] Debt-burdened citizens of Middle Tennessee were void of the means required to discharge their obligations.

In desperation the debtor class turned to the legislature. The *Clarion* believed that body should seriously consider a measure to suspend the "collection of debts by execution." Certainly the only hope of the people lay in the postponement of their debts.[12] The Nashville *Whig* thought

[6] *Ibid.*, June 19, 23, 1819.
[7] Nashville *Gazette*, June 26, 1819.
[8] *Ibid.*, July 14, 1819.
[9] *Clarion and Tennessee State Gazette* (Nashville), August 10, 1819.
[10] Nashville *Gazette*, June 30, 1819.
[11] *Ibid*, July 31, 1819; Nashville *Whig*, September 25, 1819.
[12] *Clairion and Tennessee State Gazette*, August 10, 1819.

that the legislature must take steps to correct the deranged condition of the "monied institutions."[13] Candidates for the legislature read the signs of the time. On July 19 the Davidson county candidates addressed the people from the platform at the courthouse. Numerous plans were proposed for relieving the distress and improving the state of society. Everything from banks and banking to literature was discussed. Some of the auditors "were converted, some enlightened and some amused."[14]

Felix Grundy had been in private life since his resignation from Congress in 1814. In 1819, amid the loud cry for relief, he offered himself as a candidate for a seat in the lower house of the state legislature. The reasons which prompted this step are obscure. Neither the desire for prestige nor financial gain could have been among them. He either believed that his ability and experience were such as would be of great assistance in solving the problems which had been produced by the panic or else he recognized an opportunity to enhance his popularity by skilfully directing the enthusiasm which had been generated. Whatever his purpose might have been the people rallied to him and he took his seat as a representative from Davidson county when the legislature convened at Murfreesboro on September 20, 1819.

Grundy immediately took the lead. On the second day of the session he introduced a series of resolutions which foretold the nature of the legislation to follow. The preamble to those resolutions stated that "the present deranged state of the currency of the country, as well as the embarrassed condition of the citizens of the state, requires the early and serious attention of the legislature." The resolutions provided for the appointment of a joint committee for the purpose of investigating the conditions of the different banks of the state, and gave it power to call for such persons and papers as were needed. The committee was to make a report to the legislature as soon as possible. Secondly, it was stated "that the principal banks and their branches ought to be prohibited from collecting or attempting to collect, any note or notes hereafter executed, except those in which they may have acquired an interest, in the ordinary course of transacting their business." Thirdly, it was suggested that creditors be prohibited from forcing their debtors to pay in specie, and that a law should be enacted which would compel the creditor either to accept current state bank notes or forfeit the right to imprison the debtor or sacrifice his property.[15]

From an economic standpoint East and Middle Tennessee were quite different. The former, not being a cotton growing section, stood in little need of relief. Even though Middle Tennessee had a little less than

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[13]Nashville *Whig*, September 18, 1819.
[14]Nashville *Gazette*, July 21, 1819.
[15]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1819, p. 22.

twice as large a white population as East Tennessee, its slave population was over five times as great. East Tennessee considered the suspension of specie payment by the banks to the west a mere plan to evade meeting their obligations. This view was also held by many persons west of the mountains. A petition from Warren county, which was presented to the House of Representatives on the same day that Grundy offered his resolutions, demanded that banks be placed upon the same "constitutional equality with the citizens." This, it pointed out, could be done only by compelling the banks to redeem their notes in specie. Should a bank refuse, it should be forced to pay interest on the unpaid notes. In order better to protect those who held notes, the personal property of the stockholders should be made liable for notes issued.[16]

This plan immediately found strong advocates in the legislature. Early in the session P. M. Miller of Knox county, sharing this hostility and probably anticipating the demand for legislative action in favor of inflation, introduced a bill providing that if a holder of a bank note or bill on any bank of the state should present the same where payable and should be refused payment, the president or cashier of the bank must issue a certificate for the full value of the note. Such certificates were to bear eight per cent interest from the time issued until paid and were to be negotiable. The bill also provided that if the bank refused to issue the eight per cent certificate, the holder of the note could sue for the full amount with twelve and one-half per cent interest plus twelve and one-half per cent damage.[17]

Miller's bill met with immediate and violent opposition from both the bankers and the friends of inflation. Since the proposed contraction of the circulating medium would bring no relief to debt-burdened Middle Tennessee, Grundy assumed the leadership of the opposition and engaged in a heated debate with Miller. The speeches are not preserved but the editor of the *Gazette* declared that the "weight of the argument was certainly on the side of Grundy & Co.—but its plausibility was with Miller."[18] Grundy made an effort to strike out the main provision of the bill with the hope of destroying it, and supported his motion with a lengthy speech, but the Miller group was strong enough to hold. He next united with Sampson David of Campbell county in an effort to postpone the date of enforcement until December 1, 1820, but that proposal also failed.[19]

J. C. Mitchell of Rhea county, although opposed to Miller's plan to decrease the amount of circulating medium, desired to see bank notes better secured. His plan was to make all real and personal property of

[16]Nashville *Gazette*, September 25, 1819.
[17]*House Journal*, 1819, p. 75; Original Bills (MSS., Tenn. State Archives).
[18]Nashville *Gazette*, October 27, 1819.
[19]Tennessee *House Journal*, 1819, p. 75; Knoxville *Register*, November 2, 1819.

every stockholder "chargeable for all and every debt due and owing" by the bank. If the president or cashier of a bank should refuse to pay the holder of a bill in gold or silver or in bills acceptable to the holder, the latter could sue for the full amount "with same interest and damage recovered by banks from individuals."[20]

Mitchell's plan was no more pleasing to the Grundy group than that offered by Miller; so Grundy made an unsuccessful attempt to table both the bill and the amendment.[21] The House rejected the amendment, and Grundy, seeing that the odds were against him, attempted to ease the effects of the bill upon the existing situation by making it apply only to debts contracted after the passage of the bill. He offered an amendment in lieu of the bill which would make the real and personal property of stockholders chargeable for all debts due by their banks, but make it apply only to debts "hereafter contracted or notes hereafter put into circulation by the banks."[22] But his proposal never came to a vote since the House refused to strike out the original bill.[23] After a change in the interest rate from eight to six per cent, the Miller bill passed the House.[24] When it was called up for the third and final reading, Grundy again made an unsuccessful attempt to have the bill tabled until the close of the session.

The result of the voting indicates that sectional lines were fairly well drawn. Twenty votes were cast in favor of the bill, but only three came from what could be considered as the lowland counties of Middle Tennessee, and they were from the outer edges. Of the fourteen voting against the bill all except two were from the central section.[25] In the Senate the votes showed a similar division. The bill was rejected, but all East Tennessee senators except three voted for it.[26]

Meanwhile the relief forces in the House moved to offset the probable effect of the Miller bill. Those who were in debt to the banks must be protected against a probable retaliation by them. With this in view William Williams of Davidson county brought forward a bill providing that if any bank of the state should obtain judgment against any person, the execution of said judgment should not be made until the lapse of two years, unless the bank should endorse on the execution that its own notes would be acceptable in payment of the judgment. The bank was also to agree to accept the notes of the Bank of the State of Ten-

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[20] *House Journal,* 1819, p. 182.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.,* 183.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.,* 184.
[25] *Ibid.,* 268.
[26] Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1819, p. 306.

nessee and the Nashville Bank and such other notes as passed at par with them.[27]

Those who had voted to force the banks either to redeem their notes in specie or pay six per cent interest on the same certainly could not afford to oppose a bill to force the same banks to receive their own notes in payment of debts. Apparently there was little opposition to the passage of this bill, for the yeas and nays were not demanded.

Encouraged by the probable success of the Williams bill, Grundy pushed forward a more extensive plan. He desired to go even further with the stay of execution. He proposed that it should apply not only to persons being sued by banks but to executions upon any judgment. He desired to see the same period of two years elapse before execution could be made on any judgment, unless the plaintiff or his attorney should endorse on the execution that the notes of the Bank of the State of Tennessee and the Nashville Bank, as well as all other notes which passed at par with them, would be acceptable. If such endorsement should be made, however, the officer should proceed to collect the sum of the judgment.[28]

This bill also became a law and the debtor class had had its first taste of victory. The vote in the House was 24 to 10. John Tillman of Bedford, John Perkins of Warren, and Littlebury Hughes of Smith cast the only Middle Tennessee votes recorded with the negative.[29]

In order to further protect the debtor from the money lenders, a bill to prevent the "taking of excessive usury" was introduced by Williams. Grundy took the lead in defense of the bill. It provided that the legal rate of interest should be six per cent and that to charge a higher rate would subject the lender to a fine, the amount of which would be assessed by the jury.[30] Mitchell proposed to strike out the entire bill and substitute one repealing all laws on usury. He contended that a man had just as much right to get the best price for the use of his money as the farmer did for his horse. To restrain a man in the use of his money would be to infringe upon his liberties and rights. Grundy opposed Mitchell in a speech "characterized by his usual eloquence." Property value, he argued, was determined by the use a man had for the property, but money value was the same in all hands. If no limit should be placed upon the use of money, the lender would grow rich at the expense of the unfortunate borrower and to the detriment of the country. The nature of society demanded that men be restrained.[31]

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[27]*House Journal,* 1819, p. 209; *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1819, p. 40.
[28]*House Journal,* 1819, p. 245; *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1819, p. 44; Nashville *Gazette,* October 20, 1819.
[29]*House Journal,* 1819, p. 245.
[30]*Ibid.,* 113; *Public Acts of Tennessee,* 1819, p. 57.
[31]Nashville *Gazette,* October 30, 1819.

The Mitchell proposal was lost, 37 to 1, and the bill passed without a recording of the yeas and nays.[32]

The first effort in behalf of the relief of debt-burdened Middle Tennessee had been only partially successful. Some temporary relief had been obtained by the endorsement law. No creditor could continue to demand specie without the danger of a two year stay of execution. The usury law had also given the borrower some protection against those who would charge excessive rates on loans. But nothing was done toward increasing the circulating medium of the country.

The year of 1820 brought increasing distress. Products of the soil experienced such a decline in price that "after the trouble and expense of transporting them to market; there is little left to reward the labour of the agriculturist."[33] Pressure of the times forced the Talbot Hotel of Nashville to reduce its weekly rates on board to three dollars. Newspapers were filled with notices of sheriff and trustee sales. One issue of the *Gazette* carried notice of sheriff sales of ten pieces of property in Lincoln county alone.[34]

Legislative recognition of the plight of the debtor class encouraged a demand for further relief. As early as February, 1820, several counties began circulating petitions praying Governor Joseph McMinn to convene the legislature in special session for the purpose of giving some relief to the "embarrassment of the people." Davidson county citizens were alarmed over the "diminution of the circulating medium" of the country. They stressed the point that if the legislature did not intercede and take steps to check the rapid decline in prices of the products of the soil and protect the people against the "evils of a deficient, decreasing and defective currency," the country was threatened with complete destruction.[35] From Williamson county came a petition signed by more than five hundred persons, praying that the governor convene the legislature "for the purpose of taking into consideration the distressing situation of the Commonwealth, and of devising, in their wisdom, some available expedient for relief of the great body of the people."[36]

The Nashville press joined the cry. The *Clarion* lamented the fact that property was being sacrificed "at less than half its real value" and that the threatened destruction of "the future usefulness of many hundreds of citizens" of the state made it imperative that the legislature should act. The conditions of the times demanded a suspension of col-

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[32]Knoxville *Register,* November 9, 1819; *House Journal,* 1819, p. 217.
[33]Nashville *Gazette,* April 26, 1820.
[34]*Ibid.,* June 7, 14, 1820.
[35]*Ibid.,* May 10, 1820.
[36]*Ibid.,* April 26, 1820.

lections under execution. [37] On March 21 the same press declared there was not enough money in the country to pay the debts of the people. Neither could solvent men convert their property into cash "on any terms short of ruin." Relief, it stressed, could not be obtained by half-way measures. The people were universally praying for "suspension of proceedings for one or two years."[38]

The demand become more forceful with time. Violent attacks were made on the "monied aristocracy" which had so long dominated Nashville. The banks, it was charged, feared for the legislature to meet. They had "come so heavily upon their debtors, by calls, protests and suits that they trembled for the result." But why should the legislature have pity on them when they had had no mercy on others? They were the "horse-leeches" of the country who had "drained every drop of blood they could suck from a suffering community."[39] Another month brought rejoicing on the part of the friends of relief. Several men of wealth had taken up the fight for relief, and were urging the call of an extra session. The *Clarion* assured those men that they would receive "rich reward in the affection of their fellow citizens and self consolation of feeling for the misery of others."[40]

From East Tennessee, however, there came a mighty protest against a special session. It was declared that the people did not wish it, and charged that the huge number of petitions spoken of in the Nashville papers had come from not more than three counties and were accompanied by "but half a dozen signatures." The honest, industrious, and prudent people needed no relief and desired no special session. The demand was coming from those who had made purchases without capital and lived in luxury beyond that which they could afford. "Now, that they have run their race, they wish the Legislature to pass a law that they may keep their honest creditor from recovering his debts."[41]

The Murfreesboro *Courier* denied that the conditions of the times were due to the imprudence of those persons who were in debt, and placed the blame upon the "fall of foreign markets, and the domestic scarcity of a circulating medium." Those who owned property were not a great deal better off, since property sold to satisfy debts brought only about one-fifth of its real value. It could not bring more because there were none who had the money to purchase it. "If ever there was an occasion, when necessity called for legislative interference, to save a whole people from bankruptcy and ruin, the present is surely the time."[42]

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[37] *Clairion and Tennessee State Gazette,* February 29, 1820.
[38] *Ibid.,* March 21, 1820.
[39] *Ibid.,* April 18, 1820.
[40] *Ibid.,* May 2, 1820.
[41] Knoxville *Register,* June 20, 1820.
[42] Murfreesboro *Courier,* quoted in the Nashville *Whig,* May 24, 1820.

The Nashville *Whig* pointed out that when an industrious people in a land of superfluous production could neither pay their debts nor raise the tax money to support their government, but found themselves "spell-bound — to the threshholds of jails," it was time for legislative action. It believed that powerful legislative action alone could restore a deranged circulating medium, and called upon that body to "put to flight this incubus" which was striking at the vitals of the country.[43]

The *East Tennessee Patriot* rejoined that a stay law as proposed by the Middle Tennesseans might give temporary relief to some but it would be "frought with much evil" by "increasing bankruptcies, impairing contracts, and finally spreading desolation and ruin over the state." It would admit that times were hard even in East Tennessee. There was much surplus produce and no certain market. But what was needed was not stay laws but an appropriation for the clearing of rivers so that surplus produce could be moved to waiting markets at all times of the year. It expressed a hope that the East Tennessee legislators would devote themselves to the interests of their constituents and oppose a stay law but urge the passage of a bill appropriating money to clear the Holston and Nolachucky rivers.[44]

In the midst of the excitement Grundy stood for election to the legislature. It had been necessary for him to resign his seat in order to accept a place on the commission which had been appointed to settle the boundary dispute between Tennessee and Kentucky. He was now a candidate to succeed himself and was one of the "several men of wealth" who chose to cast his lot with the advocates of relief. He had taken the lead of the relief forces in the recent session, and was now willing to go even farther in that direction. The cry which was going up in Middle Tennessee convinced him that the majority was definitely favorable to relief. Accordingly, he made relief the main plank in his platform and suggested the propriety of a system of paper money or a loan office as the best means of relieving the distress of the country.[45]

The *Clarion* became Grundy's strong supporter, charging that his only opposition was coming from the land speculators who were dissatisfied with the Kentucky agreement and from the "monied aristocracy" of Nashville. The latter group was opposed to "any thing calculated to alleviate the distresses of the people." Such opposition, however, would be only "chaff before the wind," for the people knew whom they wanted and that person was Grundy.[46]

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[43]Nashville *Whig,* June 14, 1820.

[44]*East Tennessee Patriot* (Jonesboro), quoted in the Nashville *Gazette,* June 17, 1820.

[45]*Clarion and Tennessee State Gazette,* June 20, 1820.

[46]*Ibid.,* May 23, 1820.

The *Gazette* retorted that Mr. Grundy would find himself opposed by many whose opposition was "founded upon principle; and on whom the genius, and eloquence of Mr. G. has been exercised in vain." He would find in the ranks of the opposition men who were "anxious that the distress be alleviated — men who have *money* — and men who have none. . . ." In that group would be found all men who understood that the constitution of the United States forbade states to coin money or emit bills of credit. They would vote for some candidate "of inferior capacity" rather than support a man of Grundy's principles.[47]

Grundy's platform was not at all pleasing to East Tennessee. Knowing the position he had taken during the previous session and learning of the new extreme to which he was willing to go, prominent East Tennesseans earnestly desired his defeat. Certain of those men, Enoch Parsons especially, appeared in Nashville on the day of election. The *Clarion* charged that East Tennessee was attempting to interfere with elections in the west and cited the activities of those men in proof of the accusation.[48] Grundy, however, was victorious over his opponent, Colonel Thomas Williamson, by a majority of 239 votes,[49] and he continued to serve in the legislature until the close of the session of 1823.

Grundy and the governor "effected a combination"[50] and the legislature was called to meet in Murfreesboro on June 26. As the news spread, the hopes of the debtor class ran high, but it was plain, however, that the debtor must rest all his hopes upon Middle Tennessee and expect little from the eastern section of the state. In his message to the legislature, Governor McMinn recommended an increase in the circulating medium. That could be done, he thought, by issuing treasury certificates to be circulated "upon the faith of a public responsibility, and resting for their final redemption on the sale of lands within the Hiwassee district, as well as upon ordinary revenue of the state." He advocated a loan office as the agency through which those notes could best be put into circulation. Such an office should be located at the seat of government and be under exclusive control of the legislature. Branches, sufficient in number to accommodate the people, could be established in the various counties. An issue of about $300,000, he thought, would be sufficient to relieve the distress.[51]

The plan offered by the governor was a development of that spoken of by Grundy in his campaign. Grundy immediately took the lead in the

[47]Nashville *Gazette,* June 14, 1820.

[48]*Clarion and Tennessee State Gazette,* June 20, 1820. Parsons was the opponent of McMinn for governor in 1819.

[49]*Ibid.*

[50]St. Geo. L. Sioussat, "Some Phases of Tennessee Politics in the Jackson Period," *American Historical Review,* XIV (1908), 60.

[51]*House Journal,* 1820, p. 6.

House, and moved that a joint select committee be appointed for the purpose of taking under consideration that portion of the governor's message relating to "embarrassed conditions and pecuniary distresses of the citizens."[52] The committee chairman, Anderson Cheatham from Robertson county, was not in accord with the relief proposals. On the day following the appointment of the committee, he reported two resolutions: (1) That a law to postpone collections of debts would be inexpedient at that time, and (2) that no law preventing the sale of debtors' property "unless it shall sell for a certain proportion of its valuation" should be enacted by the legislature. These resolutions were tabled by the House.[53]

A few days later Grundy reported, from the same committee, a bill to establish two loan offices within the state, one at Nashville and one at Knoxville. The former was to have a capital of $487,500 and the latter a capital of $262,500. The Nashville and Knoxville offices were to establish at least five and three branches, respectively. Those loan offices were to be authorized to issue notes which were to be backed by the Cherokee lands and the public faith. Loans were to be made to individuals on real estate and personal security at six per cent, with a limitation that no person could borrow more than $1,000. The loan office notes were to be receivable in payment of all debts due to the state.[54]

Grundy spoke at length in behalf of his bill. The amount of notes to be issued was contemplated to be about $750,000. That, he believed, would be a sufficient amount, but should it prove insufficient, it could be increased by a later legislature. By using the proposed method of issuing paper, it was hoped to prevent large sums of it from getting into the hands of eastern creditors. The bill placed the limit of $100 as the maximum amount of any note. Such a limitation would increase the number of notes and by so doing increase the amount of money in circulation. Under the existing banking system, Grundy explained, notes of $500 or $1000 or even larger amounts could be issued. For local business such notes were practically useless, since they could be used in no other way than in making remittance to the East. The proposed plan would put notes in circulation not only in Nashville and Knoxville, but in all parts of the state where there were debts to be paid.

To wait until the proceeds of the land sales should be sufficient to permit lowering of taxes would be too slow a process of relief. Under the proposed plan the state would, in effect, be using the proceeds before they were received. Such a plan, he believed, would aid not only the poor but also the wealthy, and he had received complaints from the

[52] *Ibid.*, 19.
[53] *Ibid.*, 23.
[54] *Ibid.*, 50; Nashville *Whig*, July 12, 1820.

wealthy as well as the poor. "They are all victims alike to the peculiar situation of the times, and humbly ask for legislative interposition."

As with all institutions the credit of the loan office would depend largely "upon the ability with which it is conducted." For that institution, he would favor a board of directors composed of eight men "with pure hearts and sound understanding" appointed by the legislature. Such men would in his belief "give character to the paper, and permanency to the establishment." Grundy estimated that if the office were well managed, it would bring in an annual income of approximately $45,000. Such an amount would certainly offset the expense of hiring a few clerks.

The bills were to be secured by the public lands, and he believed the first installment on those lands would be equal in amount to one third of the notes to be issued. In case of hostility of the banks to the new institution, the legislature could intervene and direct the courts to postpone "sales under execution" in payment of debts.

To the criticism that the loan office notes would not be accepted in New York and Philadelphia and thus would ruin Tennessee merchants, Grundy replied that it was intended that those notes should stay at home. He felt that the surplus produce of the farmer should be the "medium of Traffic" rather than gold or silver. Besides, he was unable to see that the transporters of gold and silver had any claim upon the legislature. The natural channel of Tennessee trade was by way of the Mississippi River to New Orleans rather than to New York and Philadelphia.

As to the constitutionality of such a proposal, he declared that if it were constitutional to charter banks and permit them to issue bills of credit for the purpose of enriching the stockholders, then it was constitutional to legislate for the benefit of the community. To those who pointed out the faults of the bill, he would suggest that they propose a better remedy.[55]

The bill passed the House 26 to 13. William Martin of Williamson and William Williams of Davidson were the only representatives from the panic-stricken central basin of Middle Tennessee who voted in the negative, and it cost the latter his seat in the legislature.[56] Eight of the thirteen, under the leadership of P. M. Miller of Knox county, signed a lengthy protest against its passage and presented the same to the House. The opposition based its plea upon three points. First, such a plan was unconstitutional since states were forbidden to emit bills of credit. Secondly, those bills were indirectly made legal tender, which was prohibited by the constitution. Thirdly, the bill, in effect, was

[55]Nashville *Whig,* July 12, 1820.
[56]Nashville *Clarion,* July 25, 1821; Nashville *Whig,* August 8, 1821.

calculated to take one man's property to pay another's debts.[57] The Senate refused to accept the bill in the form in which it was passed by the House, and requested a joint select committee to iron out the differences. The House concurred and Grundy was named a member of the committee.

In the meantime, the citizens of the state had become very much aroused. Andrew Jackson had paid a visit to Murfreesboro, lost his temper, and emphatically declared that every legislator who voted for the bill would be guilty of perjury. His rage was further increased by the reception of a veiled threat that if he did not keep quiet his friends would be defeated in the next election.[58] Jackson returned to the Hermitage and wrote to his friend and adviser, W. B. Lewis, declaring that he had never seen "as wicked and pernicious a thing attempted by a set of honest Legislators acting under the sanity [*sic.*] of an oath, and such a palpable [*sic.*] infringement of both federal and state constitutions." He had heard that meetings were being planned in Sumner, Wilson, and Davidson counties for the purpose of remonstrating against the passage of the bill, and he believed the people would be unanimous in their remonstrance.[59]

Major Lewis, however, was in Nashville and, coming in daily contact with the people, had not observed the unanimity hoped for by Jackson. He thought the loan office bill "a dangerous experiment" but could see "no essential difference between that office and the banks." If the latter were constitutional, he could see no reason why the former would not be. He believed a considerable majority of the people in his vicinity favored the proposed loan office, and did not think there was a possible chance "to arrest the progress of the bill." In his reply to Jackson, he took the general to task for losing his temper at Murfreesboro and reminded him that members of a legislature "did not like to be told that by voting for a certain measure, they have been guilty of perjury."[60]

Jackson attended the meeting held in Davidson county on the 15th and on the following day forwarded to Lewis the remonstrance which had been "agreed to by every man who was present." The number of names was small, however, and Jackson wanted Lewis to secure other signatures and then rush the document on to Murfreesboro. Jackson had renewed hope. He had just heard that William L. Brown had secured an amendment to the bill in the Senate. If that were true, he

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[57]*House Journal,* 1820, p. 99; Knoxville *Register,* July 25, 1820; Nashville *Whig,* July 17, 1820.

[58]*Senate Journal,* 1820, p. 87; Nashville *Whig,* July 26, 1820; Lewis to Jackson, July 15, 1820, Jackson to Lewis, July 16, 1820, New York Public Library *Bulletin,* IV, 188-191.

[59]Jackson to Lewis, July 15, 1820, *ibid.,* IV, 162.

[60]Lewis to Jackson, July 15, 1820, *ibid.,* IV, 188.

believed the Senate was still undecided and that a few strong remonstrances would stop the progress of the bill.[61]

The remonstrance was forwarded to Murfreesboro and presented. The document protested against the passage of the loan office bill on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, inexpedient, and impolitic in its provision.[62] When it was presented to the House, Grundy moved that it be received. He believed the people were within their rights in taking such a step, and he did not believe it was up to the House to determine in what manner their rights should be exercised or in what language their sentiments should be expressed.[63]

In the Senate, however, the remonstrance met with a storm of opposition. Jackson was certainly in error when he thought a protest from him would make up the mind of that body in opposition to the bill. The Senate voted to lay the remonstration on the table and two senators who voted in favor of that action, David Wallace and Adam Huntsman, placed before the Senate an explanation of their votes. They declared that the statement recently made by Jackson, taken together with the memorial, constituted an "unwarrantable attack upon the dignity of this house." They further stated "that the insinuations of perjury cast in said memorial is neither reason nor argument to convince any rational mind of any principle whatever." They denounced the memorial as *"dictatorial, indecorous and intemperate."*[64] Jackson knew how to fight Indians but he used the wrong tactics in his fight on the loan office bill.

When the bill emerged from the conference committee, it had undergone several changes, and the title now read "A bill to establish a Bank of the State of Tennessee." Grundy had been largely responsible for the revision. The Senate immediately accepted the revised bill,[65] but the House hesitated. The measure now provided that the capital should be divided between the Nashville and Knoxville branches with the former getting six tenths and the latter four tenths. Instead of pledging the revenue of the state not otherwise appropriated, it pledged "the faith of the state" to making good any losses which might arise from the operation of the bank.[66]

Grundy struggled desperately to force the acceptance of the revised bill. He was of the opinion that the original bill was constitutional, for he believed a state had the power to emit notes in accordance with the provisions of the bill. The question, however, was not one of constitu-

[61]Jackson to Lewis, July 16, 1820, *ibid.*, IV, 189-191. Jackson probably dictated the remonstrance since he assured Lewis that the document contained his opinion.
[62]The full text of the remonstrance was printed in the Nashville *Whig,* July 26, 1820.
[63]Nashville *Whig,* July 26, 1820.
[64]*Senate Journal,* 1820, p. 87.
[65]*Ibid.,* 97.
[66]*House Journal,* 1820, p. 148.

tionality but one of determining which was the better plan. He was in favor of the revised plan because he understood that it had been used with great success in South Carolina. As for himself, he wished "to profit by experience . . . , the wisest teacher of man, and his best admonisher."[67]

As finally passed, the act created a bank at Nashville and a branch at Knoxville, with six tenths and four tenths of the capital, respectively. The capital stock was to be $1,000,000 and the bank was to issue notes in denominations of $1.00 to $100 and in sums which should be deemed "most expedient and safe." These notes were to be backed by the proceeds from the sale of unappropriated lands and the interest on the money due from persons residing south of the French Broad and Holston rivers. In addition, all ordinary revenues of the state not otherwise appropriated were pledged; the public faith, however, was not pledged.

All public monies were to be deposited in the bank, and loans, not to exceed one half of the "unincumbered value of the property," were to be made at six per cent interest on mortgages, which were to run for one year but were to be renewable. The bank could not call in more than ten per cent of a loan when due except after giving sixty days' notice. Loans could also be made on personal security, but were renewable every three months, and each loan was limited to $500. The obligations of the bank were to be kept within $1,000,000. And all notes were made acceptable in payment of principal or interest due to the state from the purchase of lands and for taxes. To insure the new bank against the hostility of the other banks, it was provided that unless a plaintiff were willing to accept its notes in payment of a debt, no execution on judgment should be made until after the lapse of two years. The act was to go into effect not later than October 15, 1820.[68]

Shortly before the adjournment of the legislature a letter arrived at Murfreesboro addressed to "The hon. Robt. Weakly, or the hon. James Fentress, or his excellency Jos. McMinn, or in their absence, Felix Grundy." The envelope contained a twenty shilling bill on the Bank of the James River, dated September 1, 1776. Upon inquiring whence the letter came, Grundy was informed that it was postmarked at Dandridge in Jefferson county. He immediately moved that the twenty shilling bill be delivered to the member from Jefferson. Henry Bradford replied that his people stood in no need of relief and that he preferred that the gentleman from Davidson take the bill and "apply it to the relief of his people." After a general laugh the bill was laid on the table without order.[69]

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[67]Nashville *Whig*, July 26, 1820.
[68]*Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1820, p. 9.
[69]*Niles' Register*, XIX (September 16, 1820), 48.

When the bill was brought forward to place the notes of the Farmers and Mechanics Bank of Nashville on equal footing with the notes of other banks of the state, the Knoxville *Register* bitterly remarked that the legislature was leaving nothing "untried and undone which is calculated to relieve the distress of broken banks and merchants." It expected that the next step would be to declare all those notes to be "substantial cash."[70]

The bank began its business under very unfavorable circumstances. Its enemies were violent in their attacks upon it. A writer in the *Clarion* admitted that Grundy was a man of ability, but although he did not question his motives, he was unable to see how his great legal knowledge could have permitted him to sponsor a bill that was unconstitutional. Did not the constitution prohibit states from emitting bills of credit? Were those new bills anything short of bills of credit? Yes, the people needed relief, but they desired constitutional relief. He hoped that during the next session Grundy would still be the leader of relief but he hoped also that he would have realized the error of his plan and would take the lead in a new "remedy constitutional in its nature, and effectual in its object."[71]

The friends of the bank denied that the law made the bills legal tender. A man could take them or reject them just as he liked. If he refused to accept them there was no intention of trying to force him. His action would merely bar him from collecting his debt for two years, at the end of which time he would get his legal tender. Did not the legislature have power to pass laws regulating the procedure in collecting debts.[72]

The new bank never enjoyed a great amount of popularity. Money borrowed at six per cent could not be used profitably when agricultural products would yield the borrower not more than five per cent on his investment. Too, it had entered business during a period of general suspension of specie payment. All banks in Tennessee except the state bank at Knoxville had suspended such payment in 1819.[73] Their notes were passing at a great discount and the notes of the new bank joined them. The bank also lost a friend when Governor McMinn, who in combination with Grundy had sponsored its creation, retired from office in 1821. Neither of the two candidates for governor that year approved of the bank, yet neither advocated its destruction. Edward Ward had a financial plan of his own, but William Carroll advocated a return to specie payment.[74] During that same year, also, the supreme court of

[70]Knoxville *Register*, July 25, 1820.
[71]*Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, October 31, 1820.
[72]*Ibid.*, July 25, 1820.
[73]T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 233.
[74]*Ibid.*

Tennessee declared the "stay" provision of the bank law to be unconstitutional.[75]

When the legislature of 1821 convened, Grundy was made chairman of the committee to receive that portion of Governor McMinn's message relating to "pecuniary embarrassment." The retiring governor still had the interests of the debtor class at heart. He was of the opinion that the deplorable condition of the debtor class would be "greatly ameliorated" and the interest of the creditor class promoted if a law should be passed providing that property of debtors could be received by creditors "at some estimated proportion of its real worth." If the creditor desired, however, he could delay collection on security that he should receive the amount at the close of a set period. Such a measure, he stated, was usually known as a property law. He also called attention to the fact that in former times the legislature had permitted the "replevying of property levied on by execution," and it had had the "happiest effect." Such an act he was convinced could not in any way be termed unconstitutional, and would be highly desirable.[76]

Grundy was unwilling to go as far as the governor desired. He might have been influenced to some degree by the fact that the governor-elect, Carroll, would soon take office and was certain to use his power to defeat such a measure. At any rate, as chairman of his committee, he delivered a report to the House in which he refused to sanction a property law. He believed the depression had been caused by a few becoming heavily indebted to foreign concerns and then bringing great pressure to bear upon the persons who owed them. Three fifths of those foreign debts, he calculated, had already been paid. He of course realized that the debtor class was still suffering, but he was not able to sanction a remedy which would disregard the rights of the creditor class. Therefore, the committee was of the opinion that the property law recommended by the governor would not be the proper remedy.

To require a creditor to receive payment in property, unless he chose to do so, would not only result in great inconvenience but would not be in keeping with the original contract. The price on property might be set at so high a figure as to prevent the creditor from obtaining a fair settlement. Too, some property could not be conveniently separated into small pieces, and a creditor might thus be required to take over a large piece of property in order to get a settlement on a small debt. Such a policy the committee felt would be a "denial of Right and Justice." It believed that the only fair policy was one which took into consideration both parties to a contract and also the expectation of each at the time the contract was made.

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[75]Knoxville *Register,* June 5, 1821; Tenn. *Reports,* I. Peck, 1.
[76]*House Journal,* 1821, p. 6 *et seq.*

Grundy insisted, however, that the committee was not of the opinion that a creditor, in times like the present, should be permitted to demand specie in prompt discharge of a debt. That, it was thought, would be a "species of injustice of a nature most alarming and ruinous in its consequences." Though the committee did not recommend the passage of the measure proposed by the governor, it ignored the recent decision of the supreme court, and declared that the legislature possessed the power to prescribe the "*mode* in which the *payment of debts shall be enforced, and the execution of judgments regulated.*"

Grundy declared that the committee believed imprisonment for debt should be abolished except in cases where the debtor made an attempt to conceal his property. No humane creditor would desire to take away the liberty of his debtor, and certainly no "unfeeling creditor" should be allowed to do so. In closing, Grundy proposed two resolutions. The first declared that no property law should be passed, and the second resolved that imprisonment for debt ought to be abolished except when an attempt should be made by the debtor to conceal his property.[77]

The new governor took the oath of office soon after Grundy had made his report relative to the relief proposals made by Governor McMinn. In his message to the legislature, Governor Carroll also dwelt upon the topic of relief, but his recommendations were quite different from those made by his predecessor. He considered the problem of relief from "pecuniary embarrassment" to be one which must be solved by the individual. It could be solved by the "cultivation of industrious habits and the practice of rigid economy." If individuals would show a determination "to promote agriculture and domestic or household manufactures, and to lessen the consumption of foreign goods" the pressure on the community would soon be relieved. Instead of further inflation of the currency, he recommended that a date be set for the resumption of specie payment by the banks.[78]

If Grundy was not inclined to follow the late governor to the extreme in relief for debtors, neither was he inclined to follow the new governor to the other extreme and contract the currency by forcing specie payment upon the banks. Such an act would necessitate the calling in of loans on the part of the banks and thus instead of relieving the distress would add to it. When a bill to that effect made its appearance, he immediately began a fight to defeat it. If it could not be defeated, he desired to modify it so as to remove its more objectionable features. By looking at the bill as finally passed, we can better observe the points for which Grundy was fighting.

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[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.
[78] *Ibid.*, 49 *et seq.*

The act made it a misdemeanor punishable by fine of not more than $1000 and imprisonment not to exceed five years for a bank to dispose of gold or silver in any other way than for redemption of its notes until the same should all be redeemed. All banks chartered by the state were to resume specie payment by the first Monday in April, 1824. Failure to resume would result in a forfeiture of the charter. Beginning on January 1, 1822, all banks chartered by the state and receiving each other's notes in ordinary course of business must begin making settlements with each other once in every three months. The said notes were to be exchanged one for the other, and failure to abide by that provision would also result in forfeiture of the charter.[79]

There was nothing in the original bill to exclude Grundy's Bank of the State of Tennessee. Therefore, his bank would have been forced to redeem its notes in specie. Grundy realized this and knew that it would be impossible for the bank to resume. The sale of lands in the Hiwassee District had been disappointing and the redemption of the bank's notes depended upon the funds from that source. In order to save the bank, Grundy proposed that the Bank of the State of Tennessee be excepted, but his motion was defeated.[80] He next made a successful attempt to have inserted the clause "which may be in the practice of receiving each other's paper in the ordinary course of transacting their business."[81]

Grundy's next move was to get a postponement of the date, November 1, 1823, at which time resumption must begin. Since his first attempt failed, his name was recorded among the seven (none of whom were from East Tennessee) who voted against the passage of the bill on the second reading. When the bill came up for the final reading, Grundy again made an effort to extend the time and moved that "the first Monday in April, 1824," be inserted in the place of November 1, 1823. His motion was accepted by the slender margin of one vote. Although the bill did not please him, he refrained from further opposition, and it passed the House by a unanimous vote.[82] The best that the friends of easy money could do was to secure the passage of a bill authorizing the Bank of the State of Tennessee to issue $50,000 of small notes in denominations less than one dollar, and to put them in circulation in the same proportion as the former distribution of notes.[83]

East Tennessee, supported by the very popular governor, had won a victory over the easy money group and was jubilant. P. M. Miller wrote a letter to his Knox county constituents rejoicing that the notions about "paper banks" had been put down. The "follies of 1820" had been

[79] *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1821, p. 51.
[80] *House Journal*, 1821, p. 286.
[81] *Ibid.*, 292.
[82] *Ibid.*, 293-94, 324.
[83] *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1821, p. 58.

abandoned and the world would now see evidence of Tennessee's recovery. "If we do not get entirely well, we have sworn against taking any more physic and have dismissed the doctors."[84] The opponents of specie payment, however, did not quit the fight. In his message to the legislature in 1823, Governor Carroll called attention to the apprehension which existed concerning the distress that would follow resumption. He was still of the opinion "that the character and interests of the state required that the law in question ought not to be repealed." He realized that resumption would cause suffering to some people, but it must come sometime and he felt that the state would be as well prepared for the step in April, 1824, as it would be eighteen months later.

As to the debtors, Carroll believed it was impossible to legislate them out of their "pecuniary embarrassments." The only remedy he could see was individual industry and economy. He even suggested a change in the law which would insure a speedier collection of debts contracted in the future. Such, he believed, would tend to prevent the ruinous credit system of which the state was then a victim.[85]

In spite of the recommendation of the governor, a bill was introduced to so amend the specie payment act of 1821 as to give some relief. James K. Polk of Maury county moved to table the bill immediately, but Grundy asked that it be read the first time and sent to the Senate. The House could then examine the bill when it returned. Polk replied that he knew the bill was the "favorite child of the Gentleman from Davidson, that he had fostered and nourished it, and hoped ere long to raise it to manhood." As for himself, he wished to see it stopped right at the beginning. Public confidence in the banks was already badly shaken, and it had been brought about largely by the suspension of specie payment. If depreciated paper were further tolerated, he feared a complete destruction of confidence and an unheard of depreciation in circulating paper.[86]

The bill went to the table and was taken up a few days later. Polk proposed to strike out the whole bill and substitute one which would enable the holder of a note on either the Nashville Bank or the state bank at Knoxville to sue for specie and secure an execution of judgment. Grundy opposed the amendment and addressed the House at some length. He charged that the specie payment act of 1821 had been passed under a wrong impression which had been created by a few individuals. If the state attempted to carry out the provisions of that act, a legal contest would follow, since states had no authority to impair a charter. The banks knew that, and if they had sound sense they would certainly take

[84]Knoxville *Register*, November 27, 1821.
[85]*House Journal*, 1823, pp. 9-15.
[86]Knoxville *Register*, November 14, 1823.

advantage of it. The state would be the ultimate loser in the controversy. But even if the state did have authority to enforce such a law, it would be a bad policy to use it. If specie should be paid out, it would be sent out of the state, and what would become of the new Bank of the State of Tennessee and the state treasury, the funds of which rested completely upon the notes of the two banks in question?[87]

To Grundy's argument Polk replied that in England there was a method of voiding charters of corporations by an act of the body which had created them. He assured the House that banks could by legislative action be compelled to resume specie payment, and that was what the people had been led to believe would be done. To fail them would be to destroy their confidence and bring on further depreciation. Personally, he desired to see the act of 1821 remain as it was, and that his amendment be an addition to it.[88]

In the meantime, the Committee on Banks reported to the House. The banks, it declared, were solvent; in order to comply with the act of 1821 the state bank at Knoxville would be forced to call in only about sixteen per cent of the debts due it, and the Nashville Bank only about twenty-nine per cent. The committee recommended no change in the law of 1821[89] The calling in of debts due the banks was what the Grundy group did not want, but East Tennessee was eager for specie payment. The Knoxville *Register* declared the banks were in position to pay and should be made to pay. No need existed for further delay, and if delay were granted it would "evince a want of legislative wisdom."[90]

As finally passed, the new act was a victory for Grundy. Specie payment was not avoided, but it was spread out over a long period of time. It was hoped that this feature would give the country time to adjust itself. The new act suspended that section of the act of 1821 which set the first Monday in April, 1824, as the deadline for the resumption of specie payment, and provided that the banks should redeem their notes as follows. On each note presented between the first Monday in April, 1824, and the first Monday in January, 1925, one fourth was to be paid in specie; on each note presented between January, 1825, and October, 1825, one third was to be paid in specie if no payment had been made on it during the first period; between October, 1825, and July, 1826, one half was to be paid if no previous payment had been made; after July, 1826, full payment was to be made. In case a bank failed to redeem as directed, the old clause in the act of 1821 would be revived immediately against that bank. If either the Nashville Bank or the state bank at

[87] *Ibid.*, November 7, 1823.
[88] *Ibid.*, November 14, 1823.
[89] Complete report published in *ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*

Knoxville refused to comply with the law, suit could be filed by the holder of the note or bill, and execution obtained on judgment for the full amount of the note, plus six per cent interest from the time of refusal, plus cost.[91]

Both the endorsement law of 1819 and the "stay" provision of the bank law of 1820 were declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of Tennessee in 1821. The court took the position that those acts violated both the state and federal constitutions in that they impaired contracts, violated the legal tender provision, and were repugnant to that clause which declared that justice and right should prevail, without delay, in all cases.[92]

During the special session of 1822 an effort was made to get the legislature to repeal the endorsement law of 1819. Grundy bitterly opposed such a step. The judiciary, he declared, possessed no power to declare an act of the legislature unconstitutional. Certainly an execution was a "creature of legislation," and it was completely within the power of the legislature to extend or restrict it. If it should be admitted that the endorsement act of 1819 was null and void, then there would be no law in existence relative to execution in Tennessee, for the act of 1819 repealed all former laws on that subject.[93] Apparently the right of judicial review was not admitted by the members of the House, for they responded by voting unanimously against repeal of the law which the court had declared to be unconstitutional. A few members were absent, however, and the enemies of endorsement believed that some of them would have favored repeal.[94] This unanimous vote increased the enthusiasm of the friends of easy money and by the following year it was decided not only to hold what had been gained but to take the offensive. They wished to see the act of 1819 amended so as to require the plaintiff to endorse on every warrant or writ that *current* bank notes would be accepted in payment of the debt. Should the plaintiff fail to endorse, execution would be stayed for two years.[95] According to the act of 1819 the notes of the state bank at Knoxville and the Nashville Bank and such other notes as passed at par with them must be accepted. If this new bill became a law, the notes of *all* banks would be placed on par, forcing upon the creditor the acceptance of depreciated paper.

The opposition press hastened to the attack, branding the bill as "unreasonable and impolitic." Two years, it averred, was longer than an honest man could ask for delay. "Will the legislature alone consider the difficulties of the debtor class of society? Has the creditor no rights?

[91] *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1823, p. 69.
[92] Knoxville *Register*, June 5, 1821; Peck, ed., Tennessee *Reports*, I, 1-21.
[93] *Constitutional Advocate*, August 13, 1822.
[94] Knoxville *Register*, August 6, 1823.
[95] *Ibid.*, October 17, 1823.

Will our assembly protect these mendicant gentlemen in possession of other men's property?" It was charged that the steps being taken by Grundy and his friends were nothing short of cowardly. They were, by the reënactment of the unconstitutional endorsement law, denouncing the judges of the court and stabbing the constitution. If Justices Haywood and Emmerson had combined to check the legislature in its exercise of constitutional power, exclaimed the *Register,* impeach them. Grundy, the editor declared, knew better than that. He did not want to feel the weight of arguments which those gentlemen would bring forward. "Are the people of Tennessee to be gulled by the law dictums of such men as *Felix Grundy* and his assistants!" When the Murfreesboro *Courier* spoke in defense of the endorsement laws, the *Register* replied that the ablest man favoring such laws was Felix Grundy and that he was "much fitter to make a rhetorical figure than moot a law point."[96]

Grundy was determined that a decision of the court should not block one of his favorite laws. While speaking in favor of amending the endorsement law of 1819, he must have risen to the height of his eloquence, if not his height of reasoning. A newspaper correspondent stated that during his speech "wretchedness, famine, pestilence and ruin, were marshalled in direful array in support of the measure. The imagination was feasted while the judgment was not convinced."[97]

As amended and passed, the bill did not relieve the requirement of endorsements, but provided another plan in the place of the two-year "stay." In case an execution had not been endorsed as required by the act of 1819 and was put into the hands of a sheriff, he should select three disinterested parties to value the property levied upon. The property was then to be offered for sale but not sold unless it brought three fourths of its valuation. In case of no sale, the property, if not land or Negroes, should be returned to the defendant and the plaintiff could "sue out another execution not withstanding the former levy on property as aforesaid." In case the property was in the form of slaves and failed to bring three fourths of their value, the sheriff could either keep the slaves or return them to their owner, who must give security for the return of them by the "return day of said execution." At that time the plaintiff would be permitted to take the slaves at three fourths of their value. If he refused, the slaves should be returned to their owner and the plaintiff should be entitled to another execution. Where land was involved and failed to bring three fourths of its value, the plaintiff was to be given until the "return day of said execution" to take the land at three fourths value. If he failed to do so he forfeited the lien, although he could sue out another execution. In case an execution was endorsed, the provisions

[96] *Ibid.,* October 17, 31, November 14, 1823.
[97] *Ibid.,* October 31, 1823.

of the act of 1819 would apply. The new act, however, was not to apply to contracts entered into after April 1, 1824.[98]

But Tennessee was already well on the way to recovery. Under the leadership of Governor Carroll, the people looked forward to a period of prosperity. The relief forces dwindled as better times returned, and Grundy abandoned the leadership and turned his attention to a more promising enterprise, the movement to elect Andrew Jackson president of the United States.

In 1829 Governor Carroll notified the legislature that the "avowed cause swhich induced the legislature to establish the Bank of the State" had "happily passed away" and requested that that institution be investigated with the view to winding up its business. When a joint committee attempted such an investigation the cashier ran away with the books and refused to produce them until the proposed prosecution was dropped. A shortage of $140,000 was finally discovered and the bank went out of business in 1831.[99]

The motives which prompted Felix Grundy to become the champion of relief in Tennessee are obscure. He was not among those who were suffering and neither did their plight seriously affect him in his practice. His fees came largely from the creditor class and yet he took a firm stand against that group. He championed relief, yet opposed preëmption rights for squatters on the public lands who were about to lose their homes. He professed a high regard for the constitution but sponsored laws which were plainly in opposition to that document. Some denounced him as a demagogue and one who would go to any extreme in his quest for "vulgar popularity." Others saw in him a true friend of the oppressed. But all agreed that he was a master of political strategy.

[98] *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1823, p. 12.
[99] *Senate Journal*, 1829, p. 94 *et seq.*, p. 664 *et seq.*; 1831, p. 6 *et seq.*

JOHN MITCHEL, THE IRISH PATRIOT, RESIDENT OF TENNESSEE*

By SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

The fever of revolution toward democracy, which ran high on the continent of Europe and came to crisis in 1848, did not fail to affect the Emerald Isle. In Ireland as early as 1845 a group of young men, dissatisfied with the leadership of the great but aged agitator, Daniel O'Connell, seceded from that leader's party, which stood for the repeal of the union with Great Britain, and organized a movement for resistance as opposed to O'Connell's policy of non-resistance. The young men gave to their party the name of Young Ireland. Of this movement Smith O'Brien, John Mitchel, Charles Gavan Duffy, Thomas Francis Meagher, and John Dillon were the outstanding leaders. Their party was composed almost altogether of young men, including journalists, scholars, orators, and poets. Their journalistic medium was *The Nation*.

John Mitchel was born in Camnish, in County Londonderry, Ireland, November 3, 1815, son of Rev. John and Mary (Haslett) Mitchel. His father was a Protestant Dissenter; and, though living and laboring in strongly Presbyterian North Ireland, he was a Unitarian minister.[1] John Mitchel, the junior, graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1834. In 1840 he commenced the practice of law in Newry, and began to take an active interest in politics five years later, contributing to *The Nation* articles in advocacy of the Young Ireland cause. Mitchel became dissatisfied with the policy of that organ and started another called *United Irishmen* in which he advocated immediate action, as opposed to the policy of caution and delay of the older journal. "The party of action acknowledged the leadership of John Mitchel. . . . Mitchel made up his mind so to arouse the passion of the people as to compel the British Government to take steps for the prevention of rebellion in the arrest of some of the leaders. . . . Mitchel was the one formidable man among the rebels of '48. He was the one man who distinctly knew what he wanted, and was prepared to run any risk to get it. He was cast in the very mold of the genuine revolutionist. Mitchel issued in his paper, week after week, a challenge to the Government to prosecute him."[2]

The existing laws were not adequate to deal with Mitchel or to suppress his paper. The government hurried through an act making all written incitement to insurrection punishable by transportation, and

*Read before a meeting of the Society at Knoxville, April 1, 1938.

[1]The Irish historian, Justin McCarthy, comments in this connection: "It is a fact worthy of note that all the really formidable rebels, from Wolfe Tone to Mitchel, have been Protestants." *A History of Our Own Times* (Chicago, 1871), I, 355.

[2]*Ibid.*, I, 354-55.

enabling the authorities to suppress such newspapers as the *United Irishmen.* Mitchel, bent on forcing the issue, advocated preparation for forcible resistance. He was arrested, tried by a packed jury and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation to Bermuda. He made an impassioned and powerful speech from the prisoner's dock, "the culminating point in his career."

After Mitchel had spent some months in Bermuda his health failed and he was transferred to Van Dieman's Land (now Tasmania), a part of Australia, where his family joined him in 1851. Mitchel, after engaging in farming, effected an escape in 1853[3] and came to the United States. He was enthusiastically received in San Francisco, from which place he went by sea to New York City. There he was tumultuously welcomed. "There was great excitement over his arrival, no end of deputations, addresses, processions, freedom of cities, and hand-shaking. After the first five days his right hand was quite swollen and painful, and for one day he was obliged to wear his right hand in a sling and to offer his left." A banquet was given in his honor at which the leader of the American Bar of his generation, Charles O'Conor, presided—appropriately, since O'Conor was the son of an Irish rebel of 1798. One who attended this banquet thus described John Mitchel:

> He was then in the prime of his manhood, a little above the middle height, with a frame compact and well proportioned, and a finely built head, resting on a strong and graceful neck. His face was a clear pale; his eyes a grey-blue, his hair a dark brown; his features faultless, with that indescribable something in the expression which indicated the scholar and thinker, if not the man of genius.[4]

Within two weeks of his arrival in New York Mitchel conceived plans for launching a weekly paper, *The Citizen,* and the first number appeared on January 7, 1854. He was assisted by Meagher and John Savage, though the editorial work fell mainly on Mitchel, whose forceful writing was in opposition to the abolition movement and the Know-Nothing party. The page devoted to literature was largely taken up with installments of his *Jail Journal,* soon to be published in book form. This was an account of his trial in Great Britain and his transportation, and was his best literary achievement. The book had a large sale. The policy of his paper brought him into a bitter controversy with Henry Ward Beecher over the slavery question. By writing against the tem-

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[3]Assisted by a friend whom the Irish in America had sent.

[4]T. H. Hunter, *Reminiscence of John Mitchel* (New York, no date). Rev. Dr. Robert A. Young, an ex-East Tennessean, gave this description: "He is a little man, in plain black, with a profusion of hair and beard, a face which seems to say: I have studied and struggled and resolved, in solitude." *Personages: A Book of Living Characters* (Nashville, Tenn., 1861), 131.

poral power of the Pope of Rome, Mitchel incurred the opposition of Archbishop Hughes. *The Citizen,* which within a few weeks of its commencement had reached a circulation of fifty thousand, was materially weakened by withdrawal of Catholic support. Too, Mitchel's eyes became so weak that a cessation, at least temporarily, of editorial work was advised. He visited Richmond, Va., where he was warmly received and banqueted.

In June, 1854, he delivered the commencement address at the University of Virginia. On a visit through the South he learned that the eastern part of Tennessee was a very beautiful country, where cheap farm lands could be had, and Mitchel desired to try farming once more as a diversion restful to his eyes. Hence, early in the spring of 1855, with members of his family, he started from New York City by boat for Charleston as the best way of getting to Knoxville. His motives were thus given by himself:

> Why I should go to Knoxville, Tennessee, of all places in the world, and bring my wife and children with me; especially as I had never seen Knoxville, and did not know one human being in Knoxville, might seem a question difficult to answer upon grounds which would be allowed as rational. There was not at that time so much as a railroad running from Southwestern Virginia through that great valley between the Alleghany and Cumberland, but lately the favored hunting-ground of the Cherokees, which is termed East Tennessee; and, on the whole, it was the most unfrequented, the most unknown and untrodden region in all the United States from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. What I knew of it was that in extent this Valley was about equal to Ulster and Connaught together; that it had but few towns, and those very small; immense forests and mountains, with innumerable rivers; deer, turkey, to say nothing of bears, wolves and "painters." In short I desired to fly from the turmoil of New York, and to try whether life might be possible for us among the woods. Other folks had found it so; why not we?[5]

From Charleston the Mitchels proceeded by rail through Georgia to Blair's Ferry (Loudon) on the Tennessee River where railway transportation stopped.[6] The rest of the journey had to be made in a carry-all, the drive to Knoxville consuming thirteen hours. On the morning after arrival[7] in Knoxville (March, 1855) Mitchel was waited on by

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[5]William Dillon, *Life of John Mitchel* (London, K., 1888), II, 64. This is a biography by the brother of Mitchel's fellow-revolutionist, John Dillon.

[6]*Ibid.* Consult also J. W. Holland, "The East Tennessee & Georgia Railroad," in E. T. Historical Society's *Publications,* III (1931), 89, 102, and W. B. Lenoir, *History of Sweetwater Valley* (Sweetwater, Tenn., 1917), 222.

[7]In Knoxville the Mitchel family first stopped at a hotel, the Coleman House, but soon took lodgings, "neat and pleasant quarters."

William G. Swan, mayor, of the little city,[8] and a number of leading citizens. Swan and Mitchel were to become and remain fast friends. The two walked out to see the town. Mitchel wrote a brief description of it:

> Knoxville is built upon a hill rising somewhat steeply from the bank of the Holston River, a very large stream even here, though it has not received its greatest tributaries. On the opposite shore is a range of densely wooded hills; and the forests are seen quite near on this side also, seeming to close in upon us at every side. The town has two or three decent streets, but not paved or lighted with gas, although these defects are soon to be remedied.
>
> Like every other town in the United States, it has a mighty future, and occupies itself much in contemplation of that good time. A railroad will in two or three years connect it with Virginia northwards and with Georgia southwards. A gas company has been formed to illuminate the place; and if I doubted it, I had only to look at the bundles of main pipes laid down here and there upon the streets; a new market just finished; real estate enhancing; lots rising! Ah me! give me a land where the lots don't rise.[9]

A Catholic church was being constructed, the first in Knoxville;[10] and as the two gentlemen passed the site, Swan

laughingly remarked that as this little church was to be of solid stone, and as masons were already laying its foundations with massive blocks, the build-

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[8]William G. Swan had been (1851-1854) attorney-general and reporter of the decisions of the supreme court of Tennessee, editing two volumes of *Tennessee Reports*; later he was a circuit judge and the representative of the Knoxville district in the Confederate States Congress. He promoted the construction of his city's first gas system; along with Joseph A. Mabry he donated the lot on which the market house was built. Originally, he was a Whig in politics but went over to the Democratic party in 1852, refusing to support General Scott for the presidency. He was opposed for a seat in the Confederate Congress by the able John Baxter but won by a good sized majority. Swan is said to have been, of all local supporters of the Confederacy, the most talented and versatile, the boldest and most original thinker. A political opponent said of him: "He was exceedingly ultra, except as to his own personal friends. These he was willing to shield and protect. Personal friendship counted for much with him even amid the bitterness and strife of the Civil War." O. P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 413. The leaders in favor of the Confederacy in East Tennessee anterior to and during that war have been neglected—in sharp contrast with those who favored the Union cause. Swan, for example, is not mentioned by J. W. Caldwell in *Bench and Bar of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1898). The particular field is one of promise to a researcher. A group of the advocates of the Confederacy removed to Memphis after the end of the war, including Joseph B. Heiskell, Landon C. Haynes, and Swan; there the last named died.

[9]Dillon, *op. cit.*, II, 65.

[10]The Church of the Immaculate Conception, on Walnut Street and on lots conveyed by executors of Jacob Newman and by Swan—the latter being a gift. The Knoxville *Register* of June 7, 1855, said: "The building designed for a Catholic church and school is still in a state of progress. We have been requested to state that the lot on which it is being constructed was not given to the Catholic Church by any member of the American [Know Nothing] Party." This church was dedicated late in 1855, Rev. Nicholas R. Young preaching the sermon. The first resident pastor was Rev. Joseph L. Bieman, a Belgian priest, installed before the end of the year. Victor F. O'Daniel, *Father of the Church in Tennessee* (New York, 1926), 473.

ing was beginning to be an object of suspicion to the more vigilant of the Know-Nothings, who gave out, in fact, that there were to be vaults under the church for storing gunpowder to be ready for use of the Jesuits when they should come to take the country, abolish its liberties and set up an Inquisition in East Tennessee.[11]

Mitchel soon found that he was, himself, an object of suspicion to some of the Know-Nothings:

It appears that I have been the occasion of some know-nothing gossip here. Mr. Swan tells me that a day or two after my first arrival, a respectable stupid old Know-Nothing, who lives near the town, took occasion to warn him (Mr. Swan) against me and my designs. "You should not be seen so much with that papist Irishman," he said. "You are not aware, I am sure, of what his real business here is; and the people are becoming excited about it." "And what," said Mr. Swan, do you say *is* his real business?" "Why," said the profound Know-Nothing, "it is understood that he is the person who is at the bottom of this stone building here; that he procured the ground for it, and is here to superintend its construction for the purposes it is designed for. You see the strong stone foundations; they are intended to support vaults, and—well, be warned in time."[12]

The reception given Mitchel by "Parson" Brownlow, editor of the Knoxville *Whig,* was ungracious, and expressed ungracefully, as is shown by a letter from Mitchel to his friend John Dillon written shortly after arrival at Knoxville:

You would be amused at the press of Tennessee. The Boanerges of the profession is one Brownlow of this town, a Methodist preacher, who once preached with pistols and a bowie-knife on the Bible before him; who is systematically, *chronically* frantic in his personal abuse of all and sundry, and is generally understood to be perfectly ready to gouge any fellow-creature at a moment's notice. He is editor of the *Knoxville Whig,* a furious Know-Nothing organ; and as all the papers here were bound to have articles on me after my arrival, Mr. Brownlow had *his*—said the people of Tennessee were glad to see Mr. Mitchel; but would give him to understand from the start that he was welcome to live in Tennessee, but by no means to *dictate* to Tennessee. Further, that from his, Brownlow's personal observation, he could say this, Mr. Mitchel was genteelly dressed, talked rather reasonably, and appeared to have been well raised. Lastly, that the Tennesseans were not the men to declare open war upon a stranger instanter, and would treat the distinguished stranger as a gentleman until he proved himself none. So this is the footing upon which I stand in the *Whig* office.[13]

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[11]Dillon, *op. cit.*, 65. Father Henry V. Brown of Chattanooga had as missionary promoted and supervised the construction. "Tradition, which has found its way into manuscript and public print, more than once, tells us that Father Brown was compelled to have the little stone church guarded day and night to prevent its walls being torn down and the material thrown into the Tennessee River." O'Daniel, *op. cit.*, 472.

[12]*Ibid.*, II, 66.

[13]*Ibid.*, II, 71.

Casting about for a farm-home, Mitchel was advised and aided by William G. McAdoo,[14] district attorney for the Knoxville circuit, with whom Mitchel soon became intimate. The country around Clinton on the Clinch river, where McAdoo's mother resided, was first visited. Finally, after much search, Mitchel chose a farm in a beautiful valley called Tuckaleechee Cove, along Little River in Blount county, and high up towards the Alleghanies, about thirty-five miles from Knoxville. Mitchel and his son James started from Knoxville on foot on April 1, and explored the Cove, finding a farm of 132 acres at the upper end on which was a rude, two-room log cabin. Mitchel, it seems, was entranced by the spot and its surroundings and decided that it would afford the desired seclusion for some years of rest. The choice was confirmed at a family council and the farm was purchased, though friends in Knoxville tried to dissuade Mitchel. When the time came for parting, the Mitchels and the circle of their friends in Knoxville parted with mutual regret.

On May 1 Mitchel and his family, save one son and one daughter, reached their new home in the Cove. Mitchel's description of the surroundings is preserved in a letter to his friend in Ireland, Miss Mary Thompson:

I suppose the five years of my exile—most of that time passed in living among remote forests—have given me, if not a taste, at least a habit, and I feel at home in the woods. . . . Imagine a most lovely valley, five miles long, varying in breadth from a quarter of a mile to a mile and a half, and lying among parallel folds of the Alleghanies. Through it gushes and flashes one of the brightest and most crystalline of rivers—about half the size of the Bray River—whose banks are sometimes corn-fields fringed with trees, sometimes shelves of sand, sometimes precipices twice the height of St. George's steeple, crowned and plumed with oaks and pines, and whose waters here and there dash and rave over broken rocks, there ripple gently over a pebbly bed, and there again lie in a still black pool, almost hidden from the sun by overarching boughs of great trees. Into or out of this valley you must go through a glen seven miles in length, where the river has cut its way through the Chilhowea mountains, traveling sometimes on one bank, sometimes on the other, and fording the river five times (for bridge there is none); and, in short, if you magnify and multiply the Dargle by six in all its proportions, you will have some faint notion of the form of the glen. But, then, who is to give you a notion of its colors? Of course, all these mountains, and all the hills round about and far and near, are covered with unbroken forest of vast timber trees—oak, beech, maple, sycamore, chestnut, pine, cedar, poplar, hickory, and forty other sorts; and at the fall season, these trees robe the hills with a mantle of many colours. . . .

[14]Father of William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury under President Wilson; now senator from California. The father was district attorney of the second circuit, 1851-1860; after the Civil War a professor in East Tennessee University, now University of Tennessee.

Now, young lady, at the very head of the above-mentioned valley, up in the nook where the river first bursts from its mountain solitudes, and its pine-shaded ravine expands into the vale of Tucaleechee—up so high that my only neighbors (going up the river) are the bears and deer, I have pitched my tent or wigwam. I am the highest man in the valley; so that your little French teacher truly said I was "tres ambitieux;" and the Hoosiers can no more muddy the water flowing past my door than the lamb could disturb the wolf's drinking. Here we have a hundred and thirty-two acres of land, forty to fifty of those acres cleared and very fertile, a log house (which I am just about to enlarge by a good addition) and a good large barn, just now full of the fruits of the earth, two horses, three cows, and that indispensable part of a Tennessean's stock—a multitude of pigs. Now, if we had our house once enlarged and made comfortable, and if we could but persuade even one family of our acquaintance to come and settle near us, don't you think life might be endured?[15]

That life in the Cove was not without compensation is shown in a letter to Mitchel's brother William, written a month after that life began:

The weather, though now in June, is cool and delightful. The woods and hills are prime; the river, running before our door under the trees, is worth, say, $40,000 per annum; and our frugal meals, almost ever since we came, have been varied with venison killed "on the farm." I had left the two boys, James and Billy, up here for a week before we all moved; and by Tuesday last, when we came to our habitation, James had a quarter of venison for us. The deer had come down the river the evening before; and a man of the neighborhood, happening to be here, borrowed James' rifle, which was luckily loaded, and killed the deer in the river. Four persons were concerned in the chase and capture of this deer; and James, being one, had his quarter. Again, three days ago, just as we jumped out of bed, at five o'clock in the morning, a deer was stalking about between the house and the river. Our dog, a kind of deer-hound, gave chase, as well as those of Cotter, our opposite neighbor, and we seized our guns and sallied out. After a while, the dogs came back and the enemy seemed to have escaped; but yet, an hour or two afterwards, either the same one or another was pulled down by the dogs close to our fence. James was in at the death again, and had his quarter. Therefore, you perceive manifestly that we are to have sport. In fact, I believe that it only needs that we go a very few miles up the river with a couple of dogs and guns, and we are certain of finding deer. I have a very fine horse; but as yet only one, though I want three or four. Do you think there is any chance of your coming out to see us in the fall? If you do, you must help in the harvest work, and sleep upon shucks with the boys in the loft. On these terms I would be glad to see you. Indeed, I cannot tell you how very glad.[16]

In another letter to his sister he wrote:

. . . amongst our wealth we have a very good and large orchard, the best in the valley, with varieties of delicious apples and a sufficiency of peaches.

[15]Dillon, *op cit.*, II, 74-76.
[16]*Ibid.*, II, 73.

Along with the corn they sow beans, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, etc., of all of which we have plenty. . . . You will see from this sketch that my farming is not very likely to make me rich. . . . I am free; and in quitting New York I have emancipated myself from much *blatherumskite*.[17]

Mitchel turned to the preparation of a lecture for delivery in some of the principal cities. Proceeds from that source were needed to supplement the inadequate financial returns from his farming.[18] "I am going to burst upon the astonished world like a thunderbolt, or in other words, I am coming down from my mountains in the winter like the wolves, and with the same object—prey. At present I have a monstrous beard, and I shall wear it and call myself Mr. Johnson on my journey." He had been invited to St. Louis and chose that place for his first lecture. There was in his audience an ex-East Tennessean, Rev. Dr. Robert A. Young,[19] pastor of a Southern Methodist church in that city, who wrote a charming and appreciative sketch of Mitchel and his lecture in his book, *Personages*. Of this tour Mitchel confided to Miss Thompson: "I might sooth myself in the idea that I was doing some good, and at any rate no harm. At the very least I was spreading abroad the feeling of a determined abhorrence of the British Government which is now pretty strong here, both among Irish and Americans This I hold to be a religious mission and apostleship. Moreover, I was denying and setting at nought the Know-Nothings, for whom I have no tolerance at all."

Know-Nothingism evened the score by following Mitchel to his hermitage in the Cove, where dreadful stories began to circulate about Jesuits and their doings. The local postmaster intimated to Mitchel, by way of friendly warning, that he was suspected by the neighbors of being a Romanist. Of this he wrote:

I hear that Know-Nothingism which has in a great measure died out in the civilized parts of the United States, begins to possess the people's minds here in our valley; and one day two candidates for some office in Blount County convened a meeting of the citizens five miles from me at the lower opening of the valley, and at the store of Snyder, the only storekeeper between this and Maryville. One of the candidates, a small attorney of the county, being of the "Whig" party, horrified the Cove people by his picture of a bloody conspiracy organized by the Pope and Jesuits to take away from free and enlightened Americans the liberty they had acquired by their revolution. The prospect was a pretty black one; and the democratic candidate, for his part, could only protest that he was not in it, and neither was old

[17] *Ibid.*, II, 77-78.

[18] He later wrote: "One evening's average lecturing is a more profitable harvest to me than all the grains and livestock I can raise in a year."

[19] Graduate of Washington College, in class with Gov. and Sen. Zebulon Vance, of North Carolina.

"Buckhannon," the president. It was all very well to say so; but the Whigs carried Blount County.[20]

The lack of school facilities, and of social and intellectual contacts in the Cove began to tell on the Mitchel family, particularly on Mrs. Mitchel.[21] Knoxville friends urged the family to return to that town, and Mitchel in the spring of 1856 set about to acquire a site and build a home in Knoxville, remaining in the Cove during one more summer, so delightful was it at its altitude.

Mitchel superintended the construction of a new home which was located within fifteen minutes walk of the center of the town, among tall oaks, walnuts and cedars, on the bank "of a little stream pretty enough, but yet far inferior to our more beautiful Cove." "When I have my house built, I feel that I shan't live long in it. Jenny might as well have married a Bedouin Arab."[22]

Back in Knoxville in the fall of 1856, Mitchel was soon off on another lecturing tour, this time making various Southern cities, including Nashville. Everywhere he was greeted by large audiences. He tired of wandering and in the following spring considered the matter of returning to the practice of law.

Swan lived near where the Mitchel home was built and intimacy between the two grew. The former proposed a partnership for the publication of a weekly newspaper which should advocate their common views on matters political and economic. To both it appeared that the people of the South were not sufficiently awake to the dangers that threatened their social system from the North and East in the form of abolitionism. Mitchel at first declined, but finally yielded. Mitchel was to lead in the editorial work, Swan in the conduct of financial affairs. Mitchel chose the name of *Citizen* once more for the organ, prefixing the word Southern.

The first issue of the *Southern Citizen* came from the press in October, 1857, in a handsome typographical dress. It was set to defend states' rights, the value and virtue of slavery, both for Negroes and white men; and, more significant of radical tendencies, the repeal of the prohibition against the importation of other slaves into the South. How any considerable measure of success could be expected for a paper in the heart of East Tennessee, where there were comparatively few

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[20]Dillon, *op. cit.*, II, 85.

[21]Mrs. Mitchel was Jane Verner, whom Mitchel married in Ireland, February 3, 1837. She was the faithful "Jenny" of his letters.

[22]Knoxville was described as a town of 5,000 souls; gas system now completed; a railroad finished from Loudon; river steamers; three newspapers, and a postoffice "which actually transmits letters by sure hands." "There are in Knoxville some forty or fifty large and handsome homes; twenty lawyers, most of them being majors or colonels; a judge of the Supreme Court of the State and two judges of the circuit courts." Dillon, *op cit.*, II, 87-88.

slaveholders, which advocated such repeal, is difficult to conceive. At the Southern Commercial Convention[23] held in Knoxville in the summer of 1857 a number of delegates from states farther south had spoken emphatically in favor of opening the African slave trade, and Mitchel and Swan may have been influenced in their course by this discussion. That Mitchel the revolutionist for the bringing of freedom to Ireland, should give support to such a view may appear anomalous to some; but not to Mitchel. "All the time I was thinking of Ireland, and contending for the South as the Ireland of this continent." Into his newspaper he poured brilliant editorials. His style was marked by clarity and incisiveness, at times by biting sarcasm, "all the vigor of Swift and the point of Berkeley."[24] The motive of Mitchell in siding with pro-slavery advocates was but a part of the master-motive of his life: to aid in the weakening, if not in the downfall, of England: "The South is trying one form of civilization and with signal success; England has tried another (I should say *the* other) and is going shortly to ruin. I want to promote the success of the one and the ruin of the other." To a friend in Ireland he wrote:

> The South and the North are two nations, and cannot, as I believe, go on long together. Every year widens the breach, and reveals the incompatibility of the two sections. I prefer the South in every sense. I do really believe its state of society to be more sound, more just, than that of the North; and whatever measures the South calls for and truly needs to secure and establish itself, I advocate. . . . I consider negro slavery the best state of existence for the negro, and the best for his master; and if negro slavery in itself be good, then the taking out of their brutal slavery in Africa and promoting them to a humane and reasonable slavery here is also good. But I need not repeat what you will find in the various numbers of the *Southern Citizen*. . . . I honestly mean all that I say. You must not deny me this credit.[25]

While living in Knoxville, Mitchel displayed an interest in Southern affairs. In July, 1857, he attended a convention of the bishops and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Southern States, on Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, called to establish an educational

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[23]The conventions held at Memphis, Nashville, and Montgomery have received quite adequate treatment in history; the one at Knoxville has almost passed into oblivion. Some student or member of the East Tennessee Historical Society should contribute a paper on that session to these *Publications*.

[24]Mitchel escaped more than a verbal brush with Parson Brownlow, but he and young John M. Fleming, editor of the *Register*, followed a newspaper controversy with a fist fight on one of the streets of Knoxville. A Brownlow barb was this: "The negroes of Knoxville say that they are perfectly willing to see Congress repeal the old statute prohibiting the African slave trade if, at the same time, they will repeal the law which allows insolent Irishmen and foreign convicts to come to our shores and meddle in our affairs." Knoxville *Whig*, January 1, 1859.

[25]Dillon, *op cit.*, II, 107.

institution, the University of the South.[26] Of this movement and meeting he said:

> We intend to be not only independent of your Harvards and Yales, but to offer to northern youths the sort of education that will do them good. . . . I went merely as a spectator, along with some other Knoxville people, and found a very large and elegant company assembled in a fine hotel on the summit, where I spent three days.[27]

Mitchel also visited historic Washington College in upper East Tennessee, and there met members of the family of Mitchells who lived in that immediate neighborhood. They discussed their lineage, and, it is said, agreed that his and their branches derived from a common source in Ireland. He attended the Southern Commercial Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1858, and reported its proceedings in more than one issue of his paper. He was captivated by the animated address of his fellow-extremist, William L. Yancey of Alabama—"the only *orator* at the convention."[28]

In Knoxville, John Mitchel was visited by another Irish patriot, James Stephens, who had participated in the uprising of 1848 and was later to be a promoter of the Fenian movement in behalf of his native country. The purpose of this visit was to enlist Mitchel's aid in the collection of funds for the Fenians.

No complete, or anything like an adequate, file of the *Southern Citizen* published in Knoxville is in existence. The only issues known to have survived the ravages of time are: issue of October 31, 1857, in the Kansas Historical Society at Topeka; January 21, February 4, March 18, and June 3, 1858, in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; May 13, 1858, in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville.

The financial returns of the *Southern Citizen* were not such as to encourage the owners in continuing its publication at Knoxville. The prevailing hard times in the country at large was a contributing adverse factor. After running the paper for over a year it was decided to shift the place of publication from Knoxville to Washington, D. C. The East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad had recently been completed and over it and its connections the move to Washington was made in December, 1858.

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[26]On this convention see G. R. Fairbanks, *History of the University of the South* (Jacksonville, Fla., 1905), 22-27.

[27]Dillon, *op. cit.*, II, 97. Mitchel visited Bishop Leonidas Polk when in New Orleans on a lecture tour in 1858. "Visited the good Bishop Polk, whom I had met in Tennessee; a good Southerner, a slave-trader and 'pirate.'" *Ibid.*, II, 116. The Mitchels had a pew in the Presbyterian Church at Knoxville and were regular attendants at the services.

[28]*Southern Citizen,* June 3, 1858.

The *Southern Citizen* had a short life in Washington—a little over six months. Mitchel thought, when in 1859 there was a likelihood of war between Great Britian and France, the Irish people might have an opportunity to gain their freedom. He hurried to Paris in August, 1859, but the war scare subsided and Mitchel's hopes with it. In July, 1860, he removed his family to Paris and became the correspondent of newspapers in America and Ireland.

Two of Mitchel's sons were in the Confederate army in 1862, James a captain under General Lee, and John, Jr., doing garrison duty as a captain of artillery in Fort Sumter, Charleston, S. C. The father, accompanied by his youngest son, William, crossed the Atlantic, both intent on entering the army of the Confederacy. The young boy succeeded, enlisting in the First Virginia (Pickett's) brigade, in which his brother was serving. Mitchel, because of defective eyes was not accepted as a soldier, but volunteered in the ambulance corps. His ability as a journalist was soon availed of by the Richmond *Enquirer,* for which he became the editorial writer. In 1864 he found that he could no longer support the policies of President Jefferson Davis, and went over to the Richmond *Examiner,* an opposition paper, which he served in the same capacity.

In Richmond Mitchel was sometime later to find his old friend Swan in the Confederate States Congress. Swan lived in the Mitchel home. In November, 1864, while yet editor of the *Examiner,* Mitchel came into collision with another Tennessean, Henry S. Foote, M. C., and challenged the latter to a duel, the note being borne by his friend Swan. Foote refused to receive it, and Swan "took offense and assaulted Mr. Foote in his own house, when Mrs. Foote interposed and beat Mr. Swan away."[29]

In the Civil War John Mitchel lost two sons in battle, only James surviving (though himself seriously wounded). It was this son James who was to become the father of John Purroy Mitchel, mayor of New York City, the ablest of John Mitchel's descendants.

When the war ended Mitchel went to New York City and became editor of the *Daily News,* an opponent of the Federal administration. So bitter were his writings that he was soon imprisoned in Fortress Monroe, with Jefferson Davis as fellow-prisoner. The influence of New York Irishmen brought his release by President Andrew Johnson, but not until his bodily health had been seriously impaired. He spent the winter of 1865-66 in Paris as financial agent of the Fenian Brotherhood; then returned to Richmond, Virginia, to engage in literary work. Next he was in New York City editing the *Irish Citizen* and opposing the administration of President Grant.

[29]J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary* (Philadelphia, 1866), 337.

Mitchel returned to Ireland in 1875 and in the same year was elected to the British Parliament; but, on motion of Prime Minister Disraeli, he was declared ineligible and a writ for a new election was ordered. In the second election he was returned by an increased majority, but before there could be any test of the validity of that election John Mitchel passed away at his old home, Newry, where he was buried in the Unitarian cemetery.

In one of his campaigns for Parliament in a speech at Cork, he said:

> The *London Times* has discovered a third disgraceful crime of which I have been guilty: that I was a Southern Confederate during the war in America. As to this last charge I own the soft impeachment. I was a Confederate and so were all the best men I met in America. My three sons served in the Confederate army, and two of them fell in battle. I am not such a craven recreant as to affect to be ashamed of that cause.

Nor were the leaders of the Confederacy ashamed of Mitchel. On learning of his death Jefferson Davis wrote: "Together we struggled for State rights, for the supremacy of the Constitution and for community independence; and, after defeat, we were imprisoned together. As a friend I mourn for him, and regret his death as a loss to mankind." General Lee said: "John Mitchel was a powerful and brilliant writer, a scholar of splendid ability, a gallant gentleman, and a tower of strength to the Confederate cause."

The influence of Mitchel abides in the Ireland of recent years and today. Indeed, he is by the Irish ranked as one of their heroes of all time.[30]

Few East Tennesseans or Knoxvillians are aware of the fact that he lived in their region, championing a cause he thought to be right with all the earnestness, forcefulness, and candor that marked his entire career.[31]

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[30]Joseph Dunn and P. J. Lennox, *The Glories of Ireland* (Washington, 1914), 158.

[31]Among the cronies of Mitchel in Knoxville, in addition to Swan and McAdoo, was John H. Crozier, member of Congress, 1845-49, who gave aid in the editorial work of the *Southern Citizen* when Mitchel was away lecturing. Perhaps the most congenial friend was M. Esperendieu, a Swiss clergyman who had been banished from his country in the troublous year of 1848. The Swiss and the Irishman had tastes in common and not dissimilar experiences. Mitchel wrote of "finding here a most agreeable colony of French Swiss people from the Canton of Vaud. Some of them are highly accomplished and preserve their own customs in great measure. The head of one of these families is a clergyman of the Swiss national church, with the Puritan name of Esperendieu, a most excellent and accomplished gentleman, who has created for himself fruitful fields and a fine vineyard." This gentleman's seat was about four miles from the center of Knoxville. Descendants of these French Swiss colonists are now living in East Tennessee. One of them should devote himself or herself to the task of recovering and recording the experiences and careers of these immigrants and their descendants.

THE EARLY PRESS OF JONESBORO*

By PAUL M. FINK

If one's interest in history be largely the life of the people of a particular section, how they lived, what they did, their occupations, and their pastimes, their joys and their sorrows, there is no better source than the contemporary newspapers. Newspaper articles, personal items, and advertisements throw a clear light on the life of a community. He who delves into the story of the early days deplores the fact that the ravages of time and neglect have made so few the copies to which he is fortunate enough to have access.

Jonesboro, first in so many things in the newly settled country west of the mountains, in the matter of newspapers was not first, for both Knoxville and Nashville already boasted more than one paper each before Jonesboro's name first appeared on a date line. The first paper here was the *Washington Newspaper and Advertiser,* appearing in 1801, published by George Wilson.

This was not Wilson's first venture in newspaper work. In 1799 he had advertised in the Winchester *Gazette* his intention of removing to Knoxville and there establishing a paper to be known as the *Observer.* Arriving there he formed a partnership with George Roulstone, who had for some years been issuing the *Knoxville Gazette,* and later, in partnership with John Parrington, the *Knoxville Register.* In 1799 the firm of Roulstone and Wilson presented the *Impartial Observer and Knoxville Gazette.* After about two years with this paper Wilson withdrew and removed to Jonesboro to start in 1801 his own paper, the *Washington Newspaper and Advertiser,* which continued publication until 1804.[1] After that date Wilson returned to Knoxville and established *Wilson's Weekly Gazette.* Data available seems to indicate that this new venture continued until February, 1816, when Wilson entered into a short-lived partnership with J. D. Grant and changed the name of his paper to *The Knoxville Gazette.* Three years later Wilson moved to Nashville and continued his printing career with *The Nashville Gazette.*[2]

Only four copies of the *Washington Newspaper and Advertiser* are reported to have survived, of which two, bearing dates of November 5 and December 9, 1803, are preserved in the Library of Congress at Washington. The series numbers indicate that this was a weekly paper,

*Read before a meeting of the Society at Knoxville, February 5, 1937.

[1]Douglas McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Tennessee* (Chicago, 1933), 35.

[2]*Ibid.,* 35, 40.

though a reference in the journal of Francois Andre Michaux, who visited Jonesboro in 1804, recited that "a news-paper in folio is published in this town twice a week."[3] Careful observer that Michaux was, he was only passing through Jonesboro at the time, and we can rely more implicity on the evidence as shown by the papers themselves.

This paper was folio in size, four pages of four columns each, and like most of the papers of the period, was devoted largely to political articles, with some little space given to foreign letters and notes. The issue of December 9, 1803, contains a dispatch from Washington telling of the action of the United States Senate in ratifying the Louisiana Purchase by a vote of 24 to 7, and prints the text of the treaty in full.

Little local news is given, and for this we are forced to depend upon the advertisements, which fortunately are plentiful. The publisher was also one of the local landlords, for one advertisement is to the effect that:

G. Wilson & Co. informs the Public that they have opened a Tavern in that commodious and convenient house lately ocupied by Mr. Rawlings in the town of Jonesborough, in which they flatter themselves by attention to give satisfaction. They have on hand an assortment of the best of liquors, both foreign and domestic.[4]

Another advertisement told that "The Sign of the Bear," a tavern in the village of Leesburg, was offered for sale; the usual lot of run-away slaves and apprentices were advertised, and the public was notified of the arrival of a fresh shipment of salt from the works at Saltville, Virginia. Among others was this quaint "ad," written in dialect, with nothing to tell whether it be facetious, or printed as written or spoken by a Teuton not yet thoroughly familiar with the English language:

To de sick and distressed
Dr. Solm Casner

Attens on de hed of de lick Creke, und vants to led de peoples to know dat he vill ben at de ome, from de nex month, only ven his on he visst to de sick peoples, und he vill cure ebery disease, und vill tell vat is de matter by de natur. He vill also do schustice by every peoples that vill call on his ouse, vhere und keeps de sick peoples, vhich is only two miles from Col. Newman's. he vill give good usage. he will not sharge too much.

Green Conte[5]

There also appears a prospectus which, if carried out, would have been the first literary work to bear a Jonesboro imprint:

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[3]F. A. Michaux, "Travels West of the Alleghany Mountains," in R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), III, 270.

[4]*Washington Newspaper and Advertiser,* November 5, 1803.

[5]*Ibid.,* December 9, 1803.

George Wilson proposes publishing by subscription about the first of September next, a Poem, on various religious subjects and scripture texts, by John Coulter, Esq. The price to subscribers will be 25 cents payable on delivery. Subscriptions are received at this office and by such persons as may receive subscription papers, who are requested to forward them to this office about the time specified for the publication.[6]

No trace has been discovered of this poetical work, and we are forced to the conclusion that for some unknown reason it failed to make its appearance.

After Wilson had discontinued his paper in 1804 and returned to Knoxville, it was something like fifteen years before another press was in operation in Jonesboro. This was that of Jacob Howard, who came from Baltimore and instituted a paper under the title of *East Tennessee Patriot*. All evidence indicates that publication began in 1818 or 1819 and continued at least through 1820, but conclusive facts are lacking, and no copy of the paper itself has survived. No great amount of data is available concerning Howard himself. A Masonic Lodge was organized in Jonesboro in 1823 and the dispensation under which it first met named him as junior warden; the charter issued in October, 1823, named him as master. This implies that he had made for himself a position of some prominence in the community.[7] The Knoxville *Register* of December 28, 1819, carried mention of the "marriage of Jacob Howard, editor of the *East Tennessee Patriot*." In 1825 he purchased from John Kennedy for the absurdly small price of $5.00 (no other consideration mentioned in the deed but must have existed) a house and tract of two acres on the main street in Jonesboro.[8] On this lot, as late as 1900, stood the three-story brick and frame structure where were printed not only Howard's papers, but also those two most widely known of all Jonesboro's periodicals, Elihu Embree's *Emancipator* and "Parson" Brownlow's *Whig*.

The *Emancipator* and its immediate forerunner, the *Manumission Intelligencer,* enjoy the unique distinction of being the first publications in the United States, if not in the whole world, whose avowed purpose was the abolition of human slavery,[9] and this at a time when the idea of freeing the Negroes was a decidedly unpopular doctrine in the South. Both of these were edited and published by Elihu Embree.

Elihu Embree, a son of Thomas Embree, a Pennsylvania Quaker who removed to Tennessee and became one of the iron masters of early

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[6]*Washington Newspaper and Advertiser,* December 9, 1803.

[7]Dispensation and charter issued to and in possession of Rhea Lodge No. 47, F. & A. M., Jonesboro.

[8]Deed Book 17, Records of Washington County, Tenn., 470.

[9]Robert H. White, "Sketch of the Author," in *The Emancipator* (reprint, Nashville, 1934).

Tennessee, was born in Washington county, Tennessee, on November 11, 1782. Early in life Elihu, with his brother Elijah, took over for a while the management of their father's ironworks. At that time he was a slave-holder, and for certain legal reasons connected with emancipation he continued to be until his death. In 1812, however, he underwent a change in his religion and views pertaining to slavery. Thenceforth until his premature death he labored valiantly in the cause of emancipation. He became a prominent member of the Manumission Society of Tennessee and in 1817 was its leading proponent in East Tennessee. The press of this section was hostile to the movement; so in order to present his views to the public he started in Jonesboro in 1819 *The Manumission Intelligencer,* a weekly sheet which a year later was succeeded by a monthly, called *The Emancipator.*[10]

Unfortunately, no copy of the *Manumission Intelligencer* is known to have survived, though thirty years ago the late S. J. Kirkpatrick of Jonesboro possessed one copy which has since been lost. For a description of this paper we are forced to rely on the mention made of it by Col. Moses White:

> I have here a paper published in Jonesboro, Tenn., July 6, 1819, printed by Jacob Howard for the Manumission Society, which contains a letter from Dr. Rush[11] disclosing his plan for emancipation. This paper is unquestionably the first abolition paper to be published in the South, probably in the Union. It was the forerunner not only of Lundy's *Genius,* but also of Embree's *Emancipator,* a paper alluded to by Lundy in his prospectus to the *Genius,* when he says (July, 1821): "The *Genius of Universal Emancipation* is intended to arise like a Phoenix from the ashes of the late *Emancipator,* published at Jonesboro, Tenn., by the late Elihu Embree." My own opinion is that the *Emancipator* and the *Manumissionist* were the same paper, with merely a change in name, as there can be no doubt that Embree published a paper in Jonesboro in 1820 called the *Emancipator* and here is the *Manumissionist* to tell its own tale, Vol. 1, No. 22, July 6, 1819. This copy of the paper contains five columns of reading matter and compares favorably in appearance with the village papers of the present day. It contains Gen. Bolivar's speech to the Congress of Venezuela—the letter referred to from Dr. Rush, and article from the *Torch Light* on banks and banking. Dr. Franklin's cure for hard times, and several other interesting articles.[12]

Mr. White's assumption that the *Manumission Intelligencer* and the *Emancipator* were one and the same, with only a change in name, is an error, due no doubt to his not having a copy of the latter. The former

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[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, famous physician and surgeon, signer of the Declaration of Independence, founder of first anti-slavery society in America.

[12] Moses White, "East Tennessee Journalism," a paper read before the Tennessee Press Association in Knoxville, Tennessee, *circa* 1870 (typewritten copy in McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

was a weekly, and by White's own account devoted some little space to other matter than strictly anti-slavery propaganda. The *Emancipator* might almost be called a magazine, for it appeared monthly, was octavo in size, with sixteen two-column pages per issue; and a perusal of its files has failed to reveal anything other than material on emancipation.

For a long time only scattered copies of the *Emancipator* were known. Finally, Dr. Robert H. White was fortunate enough to bring to light a complete file, which is now in the possession of the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville. For the benefit of the student this was reprinted in 1934 in the original format, accompanied by a sketch of Embree from the pen of Dr. White.

Both of Embree's publications were printed by Jacob Howard at the office of the *East Tennessee Patriot,* but the editorial work is reputed to have been done in the old two-story stone house still standing south of the railroad and just west of the village of Telford, which was at that time the residence of the Embrees. The *Emancipator* from the first was immensely popular; the issue of September 20, 1820, stated that there were then some 1,800 paid subscribers and that the list was increasing at the rate of over 100 per month. This was remarkable for a periodical of its kind. Had Embree's death not occurred prematurely on December 12, 1820, the publication undoubtedly would have grown to exert great influence in the anti-slavery agitation so soon to engross the attention of the whole nation. Only seven numbers of the *Emancipator* appeared, the last bearing date of October 30, 1820.

Postage was a matter to be considered with so wide a correspondence as Embree's papers produced, and with postal rates many times what they are today. Embree got around this expense by an expedient that we today might refer to as a racket. One of the perquisites of the office of postmaster was the privilege of receiving and sending mail free of charge. Therefore in several numbers of the *Emancipator* Embree suggests that all correspondence, if postage be unpaid, be addressed to him as postmaster at Embree's Ironworks, Sullivan county, Tennessee.

Late in 1825 Jacob Howard again entered the publishing field in his own right, this time presenting the *Farmers Journal,* a four-page five column paper, offered to the public at $3.00 per year. This publication continued until July, 1832, when the paper and plant were purchased by a partnership composed of Thomas Emmerson, Seth J. W. Lucky, and Lawson Gifford. This partnership issued a new paper under the name of *The Washington Republican and Farmers Journal.*[13]

The policy of the *Farmers Journal* as stated in its first issue, appearing November 25, 1825, was to be

[13]Prospectus in the *Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,* August 25, 1832.

politically free and largely devoted to the promotion of virtue and science and the dissemination of useful knowledge. And as agriculture is the chief employment and by far the most interesting and important occupation of our citizens, it will receive a proportionate degree of attention.

True to this purpose, its columns presented its readers with a miscellany of essays and papers bearing on various phases of the past development and future hopes of the territory, foreign dispatches, a small amount of political news and a few social items, and a variety column which included at times a few jokes. Much of the advertising was legal notices, but in other advertisements are found a number of items of interest. One proclaimed that a mail stage had been established from Salem, North Carolina, to Knoxville, passing through Jonesboro on Fridays from Knoxville and returning on the following Saturday. Passengers were offered comfortable accommodations.[14] Samuel Kennedy inserted this advertisement:

Wanted Immediately, a first rate distiller. A young man without a family, who understands the art of distilling corn and rye mixed, and all rye. He must be a man of sober habits. To such a one constant employment and good wages will be given.[15]

A third offered this:

Public House. The subscriber having lately removed to the Bowling Green, one mile west of Jonesborough on the main road leading to Greeneville by way of Leesburg, has opened a house of Public Entertainment, at the sign of the Green Tree.

Daniel Barkley.[16]

This old tavern still stands and is today owned and occupied by Mrs. J. C. Aiken, a descendant of Daniel Barkley.

Local pride prompted this letter to the editor which was given space in the same issue:

Leesburg, Dec. 3, 1825.

Mr. Howard:

I have for some time past noticed considerable boasting of the vegetable production of our sister States, and believing that nothing but proper cultivation is wanting to make our state at least equal to any other in the produce of her soil, I will state to you a fact which has come under my observation. A pear which grew last summer in the orchard of Mr. DeVault of this place weighed in October thirty-two ounces. You are at liberty to use your discretion whether you will or will not give this fact a place in the columns of your *Farmers Journal.*

H.

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[14] *Farmers Journal,* December 16, 1825.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*

Opportunities were offered to readers to subscribe for various literary magazines. There is a prospectus of "a Monthly Literary and Political Magazine to be entitled *American Annals and Repository of Politics, Science and Literature.*"[17] The publishers of the famous Godey's *Lady's Book* announce the beginning of a new series, Volume IV, and offer prizes amounting to $250.00 for the best original tale and the best original poem, suitable for publication in the *Lady's Book.*[18]

In 1832 a new name appeared in Jonesboro's newspaper field, a name that was already widely known throughout the state and beyond its borders, one that would lend character to any undertaking with which it was associated. This was that of Thomas Emmerson. Emmerson was a native of Virginia, having been born at Laurenceville Courthouse, June 23, 1773. In 1800 he removed to Knoxville, where he practiced law until 1807, when he became a judge of the superior court, succeeding Hugh Lawson White. From this position he resigned in a few months. He served as trustee of East Tennessee College, forerunner of the University of Tennessee, also of Hampden-Sidney Academy and the Knoxville Female Academy, and was Knoxville's first mayor, serving in 1816-1817. In 1819 he was elected judge of the court of errors and appeals. After serving for three years, he resigned and moved to Jonesboro, where he practiced law. He also devoted much time to farming his plantation on Cherokee Creek, and in experimental agriculture. In 1825 he formed a company with David A. Deaderick, Henry Marsh, and Samuel Crawford to produce the first iron plows made in East Tennessee. These castings were made at the Embreeville furnace, operated by Elijah Embree, brother of the publisher of the *Emancipator.* In 1832 Judge Emmerson bought the *Farmers Journal,* and with some changes in title and form, continued its publication until his death in 1837.[19]

Judge Emmerson associated with him in this publishing enterprise two men, Seth J. W. Lucky, a well-known lawyer who ten years later became judge of the circuit court, and Lawson Gifford, an experienced printer. Their prospectus called for a weekly paper, under the heading of *The Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,* with the motto, "Truth our guide, the public good our aim," and at the price of $2.50 per annum. Though firm in its political stand, it was to present all sides in a fair and dignified manner, and to be free from the personal calumny so common in the newspapers of the period. The interests

[17] *Farmers Journal,* January 12, 1832.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] This sketch of Emmerson is compiled from data in S. G. Heiskell, *Andrew Jackson and Early Tennessee History* (Nashville, 1920), and S. C. Williams (ed.), "Journal of Events of David Anderson Deaderick," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* No. 8 (1936), 121-37.

of agriculture and internal improvements were to be treated as of primary importance. Good literature was to be encouraged. A new press was ordered and the paper changed in size and improved in typographical appearance.[20]

From the contents of the several issues available for study, all these aims appear to have been carried out and the paper conducted on the high plane that the names of its management would suggest. Several articles appeared at various times pointing out the advantages of railway transportation—twenty years before the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad was built. This is an indication of the spirit of the time. One of the estimates given was that a railway could be built from Knoxville to Lynchburg, Virginia, at a cost of around $7,000 per mile.[21]

The advertising was a miscellany, ranging from patent medicines to the Carter county races, and including some for runaway apprentices and one for the coming session of the Greeneville Female Academy.

Probably the most interesting advertisement to us in this day of TVA and the development of navigable streams is one appearing in the issue of August 25, 1832, in which the board of internal improvement for East Tennessee requested bids for the removal of obstructions to navigation in the Holston and Tennessee rivers from Knoxville to the Alabama line. Forty-four separate localities were cited where bars were to be removed, wing dams built, etc., so that a channel two feet deep and not less than fifty feet wide would be maintained at every place improved. This advertisement was signed by S. D. Jacobs, president of the board, evidently the same Solomon D. Jacobs who served as mayor of Knoxville in 1834-1835.

In 1837 Judge Emmerson died and the control of the paper fell into the hands of Lyon and Mason, who changed the name to *Washington Republican and Jonesborough Advertiser.* They continued its publication for several years as a Whig organ.[22]

Judge Emmerson, believing that a periodical devoted almost exclusively to the interest of agriculture would be well received in East Tennessee, started in December, 1834, the *Tennessee Farmer,* a sixteen-page octavo monthly offered for $1.00 per year in advance or $1.50 at the end of the year.[23] The magazine was ably conducted, and its contents range from methods of cultivating grains, care of poultry, fruit trees, agricultural inventions, etc., to the advocating of schools for the teaching of scientific agriculture. Just at this time several gentlemen farmers were experimenting with the possibilities of silk production in

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[20] *Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,* August 25, 1832.
[21] *Ibid.,* November 8, 1934.
[22] Moses White, *op. cit.*
[23] *Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,* November 8, 1834.

East Tennessee, and in the May, 1825, issue all farmers were urged to take part. So optimistic did the writer become that he estimated that twenty acres set in mulberry trees for the feeding of silk worms would yield a net profit of from $3,000 to $5,000 per annum.

On the death of Emmerson the editorial duties of the *Tennessee Farmer* fell into the capable hands of J. Franklin Deaderick. After a few years the paper was moved to Knoxville, and published by James C. Moses. L. F. Clarke, a professor in the East Tennessee University,[24] was the able editor.

In October, 1834, Lawson Gifford retired from the partnership with Emmerson and Lucky, publishers of the *Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,*[25] and the next year presented to the public a new paper of his own, called *The Tennessee Sentinel,* with the motto, "Not for ourselves but for the people," and "Printed and Published Weekly by L. & F. Gifford. Located on the corner East of the Court House, and priced at Three Dollars per Annum."[26] This paper was strongly Democratic, and even from the beginning showed more fire than had any preceding Jonesboro paper, a harbinger of the bitter editorial battles to rage during the forties. For seven years, ending in 1841, it was under the competent editorship of Dr. Thos. A. Anderson, a writer of great sprightliness and point. Dr. Anderson's best claim to literary fame is his *Practical Monitor,* a medical work devoted chiefly to diseases peculiar to East Tennessee. No matter what the ailment, in ninety-nine cases out of one hundred he prescribed copious blood-letting. In 1841 Anderson was succeeded as editor of the *Sentinel* by Landon C. Haynes, who was later to win wide fame as an orator. The *Sentinel* was continued as a publication until 1846.

May, 1840, saw a newcomer to Jonesboro, a man whose paper, published at Elizabethton, had already begun to attract widespread attention. This was "Parson" William G. Brownlow, with his celebrated *Whig.* He was to remain in Jonesboro for nine years, before removing to a wider sphere of activity at Knoxville.

Parson Brownlow was born in Wythe county, Virginia, on August 29, 1805, and as a youth was apprenticed to a house carpenter. Later he entered the Methodist ministry and for ten years was an itinerant preacher. To the end of his life he was fanatically faithful to this church, and waged bitter warfare on any and all who were disposed to look at all disparagingly on it or any of its institutions. In 1828 he began showing an interest in politics, aligning himself with the National Republicans, and was even more bitter toward those who differed

[24]Moses White, *op cit.*
[25]*Washington Republican and Farmers Journal,* November 8, 1834.
[26]*Tennessee Sentinel,* May 30, 1840.

with him politically than those holding dissenting religious views. A strong Union supporter, he was forced to leave Knoxville during the Civil War, but returned when East Tennessee came under Federal control, and in 1865 was elected governor of the state. From 1869 to 1875 he represented Tennessee in the United States Senate. He died in Knoxville in 1877.

His was an age of violent, wordy political battles, and few men were better armed than he for such conflict. A master of bitter invective, he carried the art of personal villification to heights seldom reached in newspaper columns, and his remarks amply carried out the motto of his Jonesboro *Whig*—"Cry aloud, spare not, show my people their sins and the house of Jacob their transgressions." Newspaper warfare was the breath of life to him, and he had no more than reached Jonesboro than he picked a fight with the *Sentinel,* already well established. Personal vituperation was his weapon. Some disparaging remarks about his appearance had evidently been made by Dr. Anderson, to which he replied thus:

We have been informed recently by several friends that Democracy has represented us, where we are not known, as the Largest and Ugliest man on Earth! We have thought, therefore, that it is due to ourself and to our cause, that this slander be corrected. Like most Great Men, we are rather Homely than otherwise—we are raw-boned, have a large mouth and a tolerable handle to our face—with goggle eyes—stentorian lungs—and as much impudence, perhaps, as ordinarily falls to the lot of one man.

The other side of the picture is, we are 5 feet 11 inches high—spare made —of a tolerable appearance—weight 155—in the 34th year of our age—and upon the whole, when placed side by side with Amos Kendall or Frank Blair, we are a perfect beauty, a fair pink. We may be considered as an interested witness in this case, but we think we have deposed impartially.

Nor are we disposed to yield the palm to Little Tom of the *Sentinel.* True, he has some advantage over us, as to his personal appearance. He is little, tight, smooth, active and full of capers—twisting, hopping and turning in every direction. Should his Nobility ever be found along the marshes and creeks in the vicinity of Jonesborough when the boys are snipe shooting or when they are in search of a fly-up-the-creek, he would not be in as much danger as the publisher of the *Sentinel,* but if our town boys should ever discover the Editor on a ridge or along a fence when they are wood-cock shooting or wren catching, they will catch him for a Tom-Tit. His tight, plump, proud appearance, together with his constant motions, reminds us of the little bird we call tom-tit, whose little head and tail are in constant motion. And we feel, without making any invidious comparisons, that we may venture to say

that the little Editor bears about the same relation to MAN that a TOM-TIT does to the feathered tribe.[27]

The fight grew warmer, and a little later Brownlow refers to his rival again:

> Dr. Thos. A. Anderson: This is the name of the last and we presume most filthy of all the editors of that dirty sheet, the *Tennessee Sentinel,* and the brother of that fine gentleman and political traitor whose sinking fortunes he has come to resuscitate.[28]

Anderson was not loath to return the compliments leveled at him, and so whole-heartedly did he enter into the fray that he brought amazed comment from the world traveller, James Silk Buckingham. Buckingham was a noted British author, who visited Jonesboro in 1839, during the height of a political campaign. He paid his respects to the *Sentinel* thus:

> While we remained at the hotel, I had the opportunity of looking over some of the local papers of recent date; one, the *Athens Courier,* published at Athens, in Tennessee; the other the *Tennessee Sentinel,* published here in Jonesborough, and though I had seen much of heated political controversy and could make allowance for the excitement of the election, I was shocked and disgusted by the ruffianly and bloodthirsty spirit which seemed to guide the pens of the editors of these two papers.[29]

When in 1841 Anderson gave up the editorship of the *Sentinel,* he was replaced by Landon C. Haynes, with whom Brownlow was already at odds, their feud having before this passed from words to blows and bullets. This newspaper warfare raged until the *Sentinel* quit the field. Gifford sold his interest to a firm headed by William H. Smith, who proposed issuing a new paper, variously called *Old Hickory,* and *Hickory State Herald,* at $2.00 per annum and dedicated to Jacksonian Democracy. Landon C. Haynes was to be editor, and the publishing plant formerly used by the *Sentinel* was "removed to the house formerly occupied by James A. Dillworth nearly opposite the courthouse on the north side of Main Street."[30]

Old Hickory evidently did not continue publication long. Other than the initial number, in the files of the Library of Congress, only one copy, an extra bearing date of August 21, 1847, has been located. This last was largely devoted to election returns, but two items are of local

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[27] Jonesboro *Whig,* June 8, 1840. For a biography of Brownlow, see E. M. Coulter, *William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands* (Chapel Hill, 1932). His newspaper career is described in V. M. Queener, "William G. Brownlow as an Editor," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 67-82.

[28] *Ibid.,* July 20, 1840.

[29] J. S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America* (London, 1842).

[30] *Old Hickory,* June 1, 1846.

interest: one, that a post office had been established in Washington county at Locust Mount, with Robt. A. Thompson as postmaster; the other, that the officers and musicians of the fifth regiment of Tennessee militia were to parade in Jonesboro on September 23, 24, 25, 1847, and that on October 8 following the entire regiment, fully armed and equipped, was scheduled to appear.[31]

Brownlow had cast his eyes to larger fields; so in the spring of 1849 he removed to Knoxville, where he continued publication of the *Whig* for a number of years. In the last two years of his residence in Jonesboro he inaugurated *The Jonesborough Monthly Review,* a religious periodical devoted to Methodism. In the true Brownlow manner, and with little trace of the Christian charity he should have displayed as an ordained minister of the Gospel, his method of justifying and defending his chosen denomination was by either bitter assaults on other sects and personal aspersions cast at their ministers. About this time he entertained a bitter enmity toward Frederick A. Ross, a prominent Presbyterian divine and owner of the Rotherwood estate, near Kingsport. Very frequently are disparaging and calumnious references to him, of which this is a fair example: "David Ross purchased a negro woman from the estate of John Page, Esq., once the governor of Virginia. By this wench he had seven children, and Fredrick Augustus Ross of East Tennessee is one of the seven."[32] The publication of the *Review* was discontinued when Brownlow removed to Knoxville.

The Tennessee Reformer, a paper that was intended to serve as a Democratic organ, with William T. Helms as editor and publisher, made its initial appearance May 31, 1848.[33] This journal had only a very short life, for less than two years later Helms was publishing the *Dollar Plebian* at Knoxville.

About this time East Tennessee was in a fever of excitement over the building of the proposed East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad from Knoxville to Bristol, and every possible means was being taken to arouse and sustain public interest and enlist support for the project. To this end, Samuel Greer and James Sparks on April 6, 1850, presented the *Railroad Journal and Family Visitor,* devoted to "Internal Improvements, Agriculture, Education, Mechanics Arts, News and General Intelligence—Neutral in politics and religion." This latter phrase may have been a result of the bitter conflicts on both subjects that had raged between Brownlow and his various antagonists a few short years before. The motto was "The Three Elements of a Nation's Prosperity Consist in Fertile Fields, busy Workshops, and Easy Com-

[31] *Ibid.,* August 21, 1847 (extra).
[32] *Jonesborough Monthly Review,* May 31, 1848.
[33] *Tennessee Reformer,* May 31, 1848.

munication from place to place."[34] Later a definite editorial statement of policy was made: "The great object of the *Journal* will be to advocate the cause of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railroad, and this shall engage our attention until the work is under full way."[35]

Perusal of the few copies available indicates that the editor followed in a dignified and capable manner the aims to which the paper was dedicated. Much space was given to matter pertaining to railroads, in particular those of East Tennessee. Literature was not neglected and the readers had their choice of fiction, poetry, essays, and articles. There were news dispatches from over the United States and abroad, and also, unlike previous Jonesboro papers, numerous local items. A dispatch from Loudon, Tennessee, told of the arrival there of a number of flatboats from Washington county, laden with farm produce, mostly wheat and flour. Among those so transporting their goods were R. M. Bayless, John White, A. J. Klepper, and J. N. McCracken.[36]

A most interesting advertisement, a full column in length, is that of the opening of the second session of the Odd Fellows Female High School and the thirty-seventh session of the Jonesboro Female Academy, combined under the joint principalship of Rev. Rufus P. Wells, and Rev. David Sullins. Dr. Sullins was later to become the founder and for many years the head of Sullins College at Bristol. The full course of study and rates of tuition were given, with complete information for those who might contemplate sending their daughters to this school. Board could be obtained in good families at prices varying from $1.50 to $1.75 per week.[37]

This paper passed from the scene in 1856. By this time the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad was complete to Bristol and the East Tennessee and Georgia to Knoxville, with nearly half the steel laid between these two points, and the great object of the paper, the completion of the particular railroad it had sponsored, almost in sight. Two years later saw through trains running between its termini.[38]

It is not the purpose of this article to pursue further the press of Jonesboro into the hectic years immediately preceding and during the

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[34] *Railway Journal and Family Visitor,* April 6, 1850.
[35] *Ibid.,* October 26, 1850.
[36] *Ibid.,* February 11, 1854.
[37] *Ibid.,* February 11, 1854.
[38] James W. Holland, "The Building of the East Tennessee and Virginia Railway," East Tenn. Hist. Soc. *Publications,* No. 4 (1932), 83-101.

Civil War, and no mention will be made of papers whose publication began after 1855. The list of those discussed has included practically every one of any importance issued in Jonesboro during the first half of the nineteenth century. The one or two consciously omitted were very transitory, and very little is known of them. So ends the story of Jonesboro's press for the first half century after 1800, a record that for brilliance and importance doubtless cannot be surpassed by any town of equal size in the country.

TENNESSEE AND THE UNION, 1847-1861*

By Mary R. Campbell

Possibly the major tragedy in the history of Tennessee was its enforced participation in the Civil War. Because of its position as a border state its interests were typical of those of neither the North nor the South. Within the state itself a wide variety of geographic conditions created a diversity of social and economic interests which further increased the difficulty of obtaining concerted action in matters of political concern.[1] It was particularly difficult, therefore, for the people of Tennessee to reach an agreement when it was no longer possible to postpone a decision on the question of relation of their state to the federal Union. Although, with few exceptions, they had exerted themselves for years in the interest of national harmony, they found it impossible to prevent their state's becoming not only one of the two greatest theatres of war in the struggle between the North and South but also the scene of a miniature civil war between sections within its own borders.

Political affairs in Tennessee during the fourteen year period immediately preceding the conflict between the North and South were complicated. There were two parties of relatively equal and comparatively evenly distributed strength. Although the Whig party and its successors had a considerable body of adherents in Middle Tennessee, their main strongholds were in East and West Tennessee. Similarly, Middle Tennessee was the center of Democratic support, but the party polled a substantial minority vote in each of the other two sections.[2] The existence of strong sectional feeling between East Tennessee, on the one hand, and Middle and West Tennessee on the other, added to the complexity of the political situation.

Definite convictions concerning sovereignty, state rights, and the extra-legal right of revolution antedate statehood in Tennessee. In view of the fact that Tennesseans generally were still under the spell of Andrew Jackson's powerful personality and ideas, it seems that their political philosophy included emphasis on both state and national sov-

*Read before a meeting of the Society at Knoxville, February 4, 1938.

[1]Roscoe Nunn, "The Climate of Tennessee," in *The Resources of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1918), VIII, 8; J. D. B. DeBow (comp.), *Statistical View of the United States* (Compendium of the *Seventh Census,* Washington, 1854); *United States Eighth Census,* volumes on population, mortality and miscellaneous statistics, manufacturing, and agriculture (Washington, 1864).

[2]Election returns in: Nashville *Daily Union,* November 23, 1848; Nashville *True Whig,* August 9, 1851; *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* August 6, October 11, 1853; and Nashville *Union and American,* August 25, 1855, August 30, 1859, December 2, 1860.

ereignty without any very definite idea as to which was supreme.[3] Since the organization of the Whig party in Tennessee had not originally involved a repudiation of Jackson's national program, it, like the Democratic party, included advocates of both state rights and nationalism.

The beginning of the revolutionary movement which culminated in Tennessee's withdrawal from the Union was coetaneous with the dawning realization that the efforts of certain groups in the North to prohibit the extension of slavery to the territories was not only a blow at the institution of slavery but also a decided threat to Southern expansion and even to the South's position of influence in the Union. The discussion which the introduction of the Wilmot Proviso[4] in Congress precipitated brought this matter concretely to the attention of the people of Tennessee. For the first time they calculated seriously the value of the Union. The belief was widespread in Tennessee that continued Northern encroachments, especially those which jeopardized the future of slavery, the warp of the social and economic fabric of the state, threatened its future prosperity. The difference of opinion as to the best means of obtaining redress of grievances and of guaranteeing their *modus vivendi* formed the basis of party divisions upon the subject within the state.

The people of Tennessee generally shared President Polk's belief that the Wilmot Proviso was a "mischievous and foolish amendment."[5] Each of the two political parties in the state tried to shift responsibility for it to the other. The Whigs characterized it as "essentially a Polk Democratic measure." The Democrats, on the other hand, denounced the Whigs "as 'Wilmot Proviso men,' as 'abolitionists,' &, &,"[6]

The first public endorsement by a state wide organization in Tennessee of the state rights doctrine, which, if carried to its logical conclusion, might eventually lead to the withdrawal of states from the Union, came from the state Democratic convention of 1849. This body declared

> That in the event of the passage by Congress of the Wilmot Proviso, or any law abolishing slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, we are ready, heart and soul, with a united front, to join Virginia, the Carolinas, Florida and the other Southern States, in taking such measures for the vindication of our rights, and the preservation of ourselves and those

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[3]Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), 3.

[4]This measure, introduced by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania in August, 1846, provided that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except for a judicially determined crime, should exist in any territory which the United States might acquire as a result of the Mexican War.

[5]Allan Nevins (ed.), *Polk, The Diary of a War President, 1845-1849* (New York, 1929), 138.

[6]Nashville *Republican Banner*, October 22, 1847.

whom we hold dear, as the highest wisdom of all may, through a southern convention or otherwise, suggest and advise.

It affirmed its belief that

in the recent movements of a large portion of the people of the north, in Congress, in the legislatures of the States, in the civil courts, in the primary assemblies of the people, in their continued efforts to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in the establishment of the principles of the Wilmot Proviso, and in the protection of fugitive slaves we perceive a total disregard and a reckless violation of all their pledges in the constitution and a design not only to prevent the extension of slavery into the newly acquired territory but to abolish it forcibly at no distant day in all the States of the Union where it now exists.[7]

The convention nominated General William Trousdale as its gubernatorial candidate.

The Whig state convention, which met a few weeks later and nominated Governor Neill S. Brown for a second term, failed to adopt a platform. The Democrats maintained, therefore, that the speech which Governor Brown subsequently made setting forth his position "must necessarily be taken as the sentiments, opinions and positions of the party, and for them will the party justly be held accountable and responsible." The governor accepted the South's attitude on slavery and was of course opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. If it passed, however, he thought that the South should submit, because "Congress could do nothing that would justify any section in resisting its decrees." He deprecated the passing of resolutions by legislatures and public meetings in the South "recommending to the citizens of the southern States, in the event of the passage of the Wilmot Proviso, to resist its enforcement and to break off commercial relations with the north" as much as he did the "fanaticism of the north." He believed it possible to effect a compromise by agreeing upon some line in the territories beyond which slavery would not go.[8]

Although the Whigs attributed Governor Brown's subsequent defeat mainly to apathy, resulting from blind over-confidence, and disaffection or factionalism in their own party, they asserted that the Democrats' "studied and unceasing misrepresentation" of his position on the slavery issue was also a big factor in it. They pointed out, too, that Trousdale's military record had contributed largely to his success.[9]

The Democrats declared that the real cause of Brown's defeat was "the apathy which he produced in his own party by the very vulnerable

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[7]Nashville *Daily Union,* April 4, 1849.
[8]*Ibid.,* April 23, 24, 1849.
[9]Nashville *Whig,* August 9, 1849.

position which he occupied in regard to the slavery question." They accused him of being a submissionist and stated that such a position was indefensible.[10]

It was quite natural, therefore, that the Democracy of Tennessee should respond enthusiastically to the call of the Jackson, Mississippi, convention of the fall of 1849 for a convention of the slave-holding states to meet in Nashville in June, 1850, to "devise and adopt some mode of resistance to these [Northern] aggressions." Proponents of this movement held that it was to be wholly defensive. Its chief purpose was "generally conceded to be the presentation of a united protest from the South against the attempt to exclude southern men with their slaves from the national territories which had recently been won from Mexico."[11]

The press of Tennessee, including Whig as well as Democratic papers, heartily endorsed the Nashville or Southern convention at first. This unanimity of sentiment is apparently attributable to the fact that there was universal agreement that further guarantees for the preservation of the rights of the South were necessary and that this convention was merely a means of voicing the protest of a united South, particularly with respect to the unfair discrimination against Southern institutions in the territories and against Northern violations of constitutional provisions regarding slavery. There was seemingly no recognition of a positive disunion sentiment in the move for the Nashville Convention of 1850 until in January of the year 1850 itself. Then, when the compromise proposals[12] which Henry Clay introduced in Congress began to loom large in discussions of national politics, his Whig supporters became conscious of evils hitherto unsuspected which might grow out of such a meeting.[13]

The subsequent action of the Tennessee legislature relative to the choice of delegates to the Nashville Convention revealed the fact that the people's representatives had apparently come to view the matter in a partisan light. The Democratic lower house passed a resolution requesting the governor to appoint two delegates from the state at large and two from each congressional district to represent the state in the convention. The Whig Senate defeated a proposal requesting that the

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[10]Nashville *Daily Union,* August 18, 1849.

[11]Dallas T. Herndon, "The Nashville Convention of 1850," Alabama Polytechnic Institute, *Studies in Southern and Alabama History* (Montgomery, 1905), 203, 210-211.

[12]These measures, comprising the Compromise of 1850, provided for: (1) the admission of California as a free state, (2) the organization of Utah and New Mexico as territories without any mention of slavery, (3) the payment of $10,000,000 in settlement of the boundary claims of Texas, (4) the passage of a more stringent fugitive slave law, and (5) the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

[13]*Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* February 19, 1850; Memphis *Eagle,* February 2, 1850; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Independent Journal,* March 2, 1850.

people adopt measures in their primary assemblies to send delegates to the convention.[14] Some of the "sovereign people," generally Democrats, thereupon took matters into their own hands and chose delegates who subsequently represented the state in the convention.

The Nashville or Southern Convention met as predetermined on June 4, 1850, in Nashville in the face of a somewhat hostile public sentiment.[15] Its proceedings were thoroughly harmonious on the main subjects under consideration. These were: absolute equality of states, the doctrine of state sovereignty, the right of a state to settle its own domestic relations and shape its policy toward the institution of slavery, and the right of each state to equal participation in all territories with national protection of its property. The convention went on record as favoring a division of the territories between the two sections by extending the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to the Pacific "in the event a dominant majority shall refuse to recognize the great constitutional rights we assert, and shall continue to deny the obligations of the Federal Government to maintain them." It viewed its willingness to accept this dividing line as a generous concession, a price of peace in default of just claims. While the convention made no threats in case Congress did not comply with its wishes, it closed its session with a provision for reassembling after Congress had adjourned.[16]

Democratic opinion in the state, as it found expression in the two leading Democratic papers of Nashville, was complimentary in its estimate of the work of the convention. The *Daily American* exulted that

> The phantom of treason did not once intrude upon its deliberations. . . . She met as men who know their rights and intend to assert them. They claimed nothing but *equal rights;* and maintained them in resolutions, temperate and mild yet firm and unyielding.[17]

Although the *Daily Union* felt that the proceedings of the convention had dissipated the fears of those who had opposed its assembling, it could not wholeheartedly endorse all of the opinions expressed by its members. It pointed out that the sentiment of the convention was for "The Union forever, under the guarantees of the Constitution," and that its members showed a "disposition to concede, for the preservation of the Union, everything consistent with southern safety and honor."[18]

While the Whig press was by no means as enthusiastic as the Democratic in its commendation of the convention, its comments were not

[14] *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* February 19, 1850.
[15] Nashville *Daily American,* June 16, 1850.
[16] *Resolutions and Addresses Adopted by the Southern Convention* (Nashville, 1850), 1-21.
[17] June 16, 1850.
[18] June 14, 1850.

altogether unfavorable. For example, the *Republican Banner and Nashville Whig* declared that the convention, which had professed love for the Union and at the same time talked Southern confederacy, was not really representative of the South. It rejoiced that the Whigs had had no part in it. It did assert, however, that despite its belief that the convention was premature, and that it should have been only a last resort, it indicated the tone of Southern opinion and suggested that the North would do well to take warning.[19]

Since the majority of Tennesseans were essentially conservative, it is not surprising that, largely irrespective of party affiliation, they welcomed the news that Congress, through the united action of Whigs and Democrats, had passed in September the last of the measures making up the Compromise of 1850. The vote of Tennessee's congressional delegation, which had taken a prominent part in the debates on them,[20] was apparently representative of the sentiment in the state. This group, although it consisted of eight Democrats and five Whigs, was, for the most part, favorable to all of the proposals.[21]

Such being the case, the idea, then, that the Nashville Convention should reassemble was absurd to most Tennesseans. The demands of this adjourned session of the convention, consisting chiefly of radicals from the depleted ranks of the delegations of the seven states represented,[22] were, as a matter of course, extreme. The Tennessee delegation, although itself divided,[23] "attempted to stem the tide of radicalism by the introduction of the 'Tennessee Resolutions' which were more moderate than those adopted by the Convention."[24]

Condemnation of the second session of the Nashville Convention was well nigh universal in Tennessee. The *Daily American,* which "preferred the man who went too far in defense of Southern rights to the one who did not go far enough," would neither endorse all the doctrines of the preamble and the resolutions nor approve all that the convention had said.[25] The Memphis *Eagle* felt that the convention had proposed a tragedy and enacted a comedy."[26]

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[19]June 17, 1850.

[20]Barsha R. Webb, Attitude of Members of Congress from Tennessee on the Slavery Question, 1820-1858 (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Tennessee, 1931), 100.

[21]*Congressional Globe,* 31 Congress, 1 Session (Washington, 1850), 1555, 1572, 1573, 1589, 1647, 1764, 1776, 1807, 1819, 1830.

[22]Tennessee's delegation had shrunk to only fourteen members.

[23]Herndon, *op. cit.,* 230-231. The conservatives, under the leadership of G. J. Pillow, A. V. Brown, A. O. P. Nicholson and A. J. Donelson, dominated it. Claiborne of the minority favored immediate secession.

[24]St. George L. Sioussat, "Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention," *Tennessee Historical Magazine,* IV (December, 1918), 244.

[25]November 20, 1850.

[26]November 18, 1850.

The gubernatorial campaign of 1851, which was already getting under way before the adjournment of the second session of the Nashville Convention, promised to be an exciting one. A "united Democracy" renominated Governor Trousdale.[27] Although General William B. Campbell apparently did not wish to be his party's candidate for the governorship, he finally permitted Whig leaders to draft him in view of their insistence that he was the only one of their number who had any appreciable chance of defeating Trousdale.[28]

Both parties very definitely subordinated state to national issues.[29] They were still thinking in terms of the Wilmot Proviso, the Nashville Convention, and the Compromise of 1850. Each sought not only to justify the position which it had taken with reference to each of these questions but also to prove that its policy was the one best calculated to preserve the Union and at the same time to safeguard the rights of the South.

The Democrats opposed the "dangerous fanaticism of the North," against which even "the fireaters of the South" sought only to protect themselves and their institutions. They favored maintaining the Union "by the rigid enforcement of the compromises of the constitution." Regardless of whatever differences of opinion existed among them as to the "intrinsic merits of the compromise measures, either as they affect the rights of the South or North," the Democrats were all agreed, they said, "in acquiescing in them and supporting them as a final adjustment of all difficulties."[30] They charged the Whigs with being allies of the abolitionists, and accused Campbell of being willing to "*submit*" to the repeal of the fugitive slave law."[31]

Governor Trousdale personally took a more advanced position with reference to the Compromise of 1850 than that occupied by the rank and file of his party. Although he favored acquiescing in and maintaining it, he characterized it on the whole as being oppressive and unjust to the South. He asserted that Campbell and the Whig party were "too favorable to northern views and feelings in their discussions of the Compromise." He branded the charge that he was a disunionist as a slander[32] and declared his devotion to the Union.[33]

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[27]Nashville *American,* August 13, 1851.

[28]B. H. Shepherd, "Chairman of a Whig Central Committee," February 10, 1851; M. P. Gentry, November, 1850; G. A. Henry, February 10, 1851; and J. W. Allen, March 3, 1851, to William B. Campbell, William B. Campbell Papers (in possession of L. R. Campbell, Nashville).

[29]Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee, A History, 1673-1932* (New York, 1932), 480-481.

[30]Nashville *Daily Union,* August 2, 1851.

[31]Nashville *True Whig,* June 27, 30, 1851.

[32]*Ibid.,* August 6, 1851.

[33]Nashville *Daily Union,* August 6, 1851.

General Campbell, on the other hand, assumed a position substantially in accord with that of the bulk of his constituents. He maintained that the compromise was the "work of the wisdom and patriotism of the country in a great crisis of sectional agitation, to allay sectional controversy and save the Union." He believed it, in the main, "to be just and reasonable, and entitled to the approbation of the people of all sections of the country." He charged that the effect of Trousdale's criticisms of the compromise was to weaken its hold upon popular confidence and approval and thus, unintentionally perhaps, to aid the disunionists of the North and South alike.[34]

Campbell criticised Trousdale for his failure to condemn South Carolina along with the abolitionists of the North for constantly fomenting strife. He "was for enforcing the fugitive slave law at the north even to the shedding of blood, if necessary—even if the army and militia had to be called out;[35] but he was for enforcing the laws in South Carolina as well as in Massachusetts."[36] Not only Campbell but the Whigs in general attributed disunion sentiment to the Democratic leaders. Campbell, however, pointedly exonerated the masses of the party from this charge.[37]

In the subsequent election, in which the largest number of voters in the state's history participated, General Campbell was victorious. The Democrats attributed Trousdale's defeat to a lack of cordial support in his own party and to the fact that he had been a victim of misrepresentation by the Whigs. They cried,

> He whose life has been devoted to the Union, whose person is covered with scars, received fighting under the flag of the Union, in defense of the honor and integrity of the Union, has been denounced as a disunionist.[38]

The Whigs, however, declared that the real reason for his defeat was that he and some other leading Democrats "took a position upon the great exciting question of the day in which the masses of their own party did not concur." The main body of Democrats, like the Whigs, preferred the candidate who proposed "yielding to the Compromise a hearty unequivocal, efficient support" to the one who advocated giving a "complaining, reluctant, *enduring* 'acquiescence' calculated to engender anew the elements of sectional strife, and reopen a dangerous and unprofitable sectional controversy." The vast majority of Whigs and Democrats alike were "conservative to the core—firmly resolved to main-

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[34]Nashville *True Whig,* August 6, 1851.

[35]Campbell said: "In accordance with the Whig address, that if this law was repealed or distinctly modified, it would then be time for the south to look out for her rights, even at the hazard of disunion—For Our Rights Must Be Protected." *Ibid.*

[36]*Ibid.*

[37]*Ibid.,* June 27, 30.

[38]Nashville *American,* August 13, 1851.

tain at once the rights of the south, against all assaults from whatever quarter—standing immovably upon the old Republican basis of conservative, Constitutional rights."[39]

The struggle between the Democrats and their political opponents for supremacy in the state relegated national issues to a subordinate position during the remainder of the decade of the fifties. Although the Whigs carried the state for Scott in their party's last presidential race in 1852, the party as such disappeared in Tennessee after its defeat in the gubernatorial contest of 1853.[40] By 1857 the Democrats, under the leadership of Andrew Johnson, had destroyed the Know-Nothing or American party which had replaced the Whig organization.[41] Henceforth, the Democratic party, although it faced competition from a strong Opposition party,[42] was dominant in the state.[43]

Despite their absorption in the intra-state struggle between the Democrats and their opponents for political control of the state, Tennesseans did not lose sight of the sectional controversy hinging upon the slavery issue in the nation at large. Throughout the decade, with few exceptions, they evinced great attachment for the Union, although they held various opinions concerning the relationship existing between the several states and the Union.

The passage by Congress of the Kansas-Nebraska bill[44] in 1854, reopening as it did the discussion of the status of slavery in the territories, in a measure revived the sectional feeling in Tennessee which had largely died down after the adoption of the Compromise of 1850. The discussion of the bill quickly resolved itself into a partisan struggle, with the Democrats supporting it and the erstwhile Whigs opposing it. The Democrats looked on it as an application of the principles of non-intervention[45] rather than "Squatter Sovereignty"[46] and so considered it a concession to the South. Furthermore, they felt that taking away the power of Congress to legislate regarding slavery in the territories other than to insure constitutional protection to it, and leaving the determination of its status to the people of the territories themselves, the Supreme Court *alone* having power to pass on their laws, guaranteed

[39]Nashville *True Whig,* August 21, 1851.

[40]*Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* October 11, 1853.

[41]Nashville *Union and American,* August 30, 1859.

[42]The Opposition party consisted of all of the opponents of the Democratic party, *i. e.,* former Whigs and Know-Nothings.

[43]Nashville *Union and American,* August 30, 1859.

[44]The Kansas-Nebraska bill repealed the Missouri Compromise and provided that Kansas and Nebraska should be organized as territories without restriction as to slavery.

[45]According to the doctrine of "non-intervention" Congress had no power to legislate concerning slavery in the states or in the territories.

[46]"Squatter sovereignty" or "popular sovereignty" was the doctrine that the people of the territories had the right of permitting or prohibiting slavery.

the permanence of the institution there.[47] The Whigs, on the other hand, warned the South not to support the measure, characterizing it as "humbug." "If," said the *Republican Banner and Nashville Wrig,*

> the principle of squatter sovereignty, which is incorporated in the bill is accepted by the South and once established, it requires no great sagacity to perceive that there will never be another slave state formed out of any territory we now possess or which we may hereafter acquire . . . although such will be acquired by the *common* treasure *or* the *common* blood of *all* the states.[48]

Except for the vote of Representative George W. Jones, Democrat, who opposed it, and those of Senator James C. Jones and Representatives Felix K. Zollicoffer and Charles Ready, Whigs, who favored it, the votes of Tennessee's congressional delegation on the Kansas-Nebraska bill followed partisan lines.[49]

In view of the fact that the people of Tennessee generally regarded slavery as either necessary or desirable or as both necessary and desirable, both parties supported the Southern position concerning the South's "peculiar institution." They heartily endorsed the Dred Scott decision[50] as a matter of course.[51] John Brown's raid[52] at Harper's Ferry greatly alarmed them. Many of the state's congressional representatives discussed the matter in Congress in an attempt not only to present the views of their constituents to the country at large but also to allay the intense excitement which it had created.[53]

Tennesseans, believing the Union to be in jeopardy, regarded the presidential election of 1860 as a crucial contest. Many believed that "it will be a war between nationalism and sectionalism—between constitutional liberty and higher-lawism—between questions of public peace and all the dangers of a threatened revolution."[54] Since a preponderant majority of the people of Tennessee held conservative views on the slavery issue and were thoroughly devoted to the Union, their immediate objective was to help secure the election of a president in whom the people of all sections had confidence. They hoped that such a chief executive could bring about an amicable settlement of the sectional controversy then agitating the country.

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[47]Nashville *Union and American,* March 7, 1854.
[48]March 9, 13, 1854.
[49]*Congressional Globe,* 33 Congress, 1 Session, 1254, 1321.
[50]The Dred Scott decision, which declared the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional, declared that slaves were property and implied that Congress' only power over slavery in the territories was the duty of protecting slave property.
[51]Nashville *Union and American,* August 30, 1859.
[52]In pursuance of his plan to establish a refuge in the mountains of the South to which slaves might come, John Brown seized the government arsenal at Harpers Ferry.
[53]*Congressional Globe,* 36 Congress, 1 Session, 98-107.
[54]Nashville *Union and American,* December 4, 1859.

While a large majority of the Democrats in Tennessee supported John C. Breckinridge, a small minority favored Stephen A. Douglas. John Bell, a native son, received the enthusiastic support of the Opposition or Constitutional Union party.[55] Although there was no Republican organization in the state,[56] the leaders of the Breckinridge, Douglas, and Bell forces, respectively, urged the voters to support their candidate as the only one who could defeat Abraham Lincoln and so prevent the dissolution of the Union. Party lines remained unbroken and Bell, because of the split in the Democratic vote, carried Tennessee by a plurality.[57]

Although the result of the election in the country at large was extremely displeasing to the people of Tennessee, they accepted it calmly and proposed to abide by it.[58] They were bitterly disappointed over the elevation to the presidency of a man who, although relatively unknown to them, had been the candidate of a party whose platform they believed to be at variance with what they regarded as the correct interpretation of the constitution. They were fearful of what they termed Republican aggressions on their rights. Moreover, they were apprehensive concerning the future of the Union in view of the threats which certain extremists of the Lower South had made in the event of Lincoln's election.

The election of Lincoln to the presidency in 1860 set in motion a train of events which eventually, though not at once, broke all party lines in Tennessee and ultimately created a situation in which there were only two groups, those who advocated joining the Confederate States of America and those who favored adhering to the Union. There were a few radicals who declared in the beginning that the elevation of a candidate to the presidency by a sectional party hostile to Southern interests was a justifiable cause of secession and urged the taking of immediate steps in that direction. There was likewise a small body of extreme conservatives who apparently entertained no fears concerning Lincoln's attitude toward the South and could not conceive of any action that he might take as furnishing sufficient cause for dissolving the Union.[59] The overwhelming majority of the people of the state, however, accepted Lincoln's victory philosophically and proposed quietly to

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[55]The Opposition party in Tennessee became a part of the national Constitutional Union party in 1860.

[56]Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland (comps.), *A Political Textbook for 1860* . . . (New York, 1860), 26-29.

[57]Nashville *Union and American,* December 2, 1860.

[58]*Rutherford Telegraph* (Murfreesboro), November 10, 1860; *Maury Press* (Columbia), November 14, 1860; Clarksville *Chronicle,* November 9, 1860; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* November 10, 1860; Memphis *Appeal,* November 18, 1860.

[59]Oliver P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 149, 154, 165.

await developments. The more skeptical among this number felt confident that Lincoln and his supporters would be guilty of some overt act of aggression which would ultimately force the secession issue. The remainder of this group, while it was somewhat apprehensive of danger to Southern rights, maintained an optimistic outlook and counselled a policy of watchful waiting.

Most Tennesseeans favored their state's following a policy of "masterly inactivity" or acting as mediator between the North and the South at this time. Since the understanding in political circles was that Governor Harris did not consider the triumph of the "Black Republican Party" sufficient cause for the secession of a state, the Memphis *Appeal* proposed that the people urge him to convene the legislature in extra session to consider the state of political affairs in the country.[60]

Meanwhile, on November 25 ex-Governor Neill S. Brown, Andrew Ewing, Edwin H. Ewing, Leon Trousdale, Allan A. Hall, and other prominent members of both the Constitutional Union and Democratic parties had issued the following statement to the people of Tennessee:

In the present dangerous crisis of affairs the undersigned respectfully recommend the assemblage of the people in primary meetings, to request the Governor to call together the Legislature of Tennessee forthwith, with a view to their providing for a State Convention, the object of which shall be to bring about a conference of Southern States [possibly similar to the Nashville Convention of 1850] to consider existing political troubles, and if possible to compose our sectional strife.[61]

Shortly after this, W. C. Whitthorne, representative from Maury county and speaker of the House, set forth his estimate of public sentiment in Tennessee in a letter to Senator A. O. P. Nicholson. He wrote:

1st. She is for waiting in the Union,

2nd. She will be against coercion,

3rd. She will be for a convention or consultation with all the Southern States, and propose either amendments or an united declaration as to future action, somewhat like the Georgia platform,[62]

4th. If either before or after this the States South of her go out she will follow suit ultimately. I doubt this if but one or two went.[63]

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[60]November 18, 29, 1860.

[61]Nashville *Union and American,* November 25, 1860.

[62]The Georgia Platform, adopted by a state convention in December, 1850, declared, in substance, that the Compromise of 1850 was a final adjustment of the sectional controversy between the North and South and that a violation of it by the North would furnish sufficient grounds for dissolving the Union. Richard H. Shryock, *Georgia and the Union in 1850* (Durham, North Carolina, 1926), 325-334.

[63]December 1, 1860, Papers of Andrew Johnson, II (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

The *Appeal* of December 8 announced that Governor Harris, in obedience to what he believed to be the will of the people, would convene the legislature in extra session on January 7, 1861, in Nashville to consider the present monetary and financial crises and to attempt to decide upon a course of action for the state. Although there appeared to be little opposition to the extra session[64] there was some. The Clarksville *Chronicle* observed that

> The members not having been elected with any view to such an emergency, they cannot be considered fair exponents of popular sentiment, and, as a whole, we fear it is not just such a body as is capable of grappling successfully, the vital issues to be presented for its consideration.[65]

With relatively few exceptions, the people of Tennessee resented South Carolina's withdrawal from the Union.[66] Since they believed that several other states would inevitably follow her example, they felt that her action would precipitate a crisis in national affairs. They were convinced that anything which jeopardized the existence of the Union adversely affected the interests of Tennessee.

On January 7, the legislature met pursuant to the call of the governor. On this occasion Governor Harris, by this time apparently under the influence of the secession movement which had recently been gaining some headway, ably recounted the South's grievances against the North and advocated immediate secession.[67]

The legislature almost immediately began the consideration of a measure to provide for the holding of a state convention to consider the question of federal relations. The debate upon the convention bill in both the House and Senate centered mainly upon an amendment requiring that no ordinance which the proposed convention might pass changing Tennessee's relation to the federal government should become effective until a majority of the qualified voters in the last gubernatorial election had ratified it.[68] Both houses unanimously ratified the amended bill. This law provided that the people should choose delegates at the same time that they voted on the question of holding the convention in order that a second election might not be necessary in the event of the authorization of the holding of the convention.[69]

A heated campaign, in which both the proponents and the opponents

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[64]Knoxville *Tri-Weekly Whig,* December 6, 1860.
[65]December 7, 1860.
[66]James W. Fertig, *Secession and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898), 15.
[67]*Public Acts of the State of Tennessee,* 1861 (first extra session), 1-13.
[68]Robert Johnson to Andrew Johnson, January 13, 1861, Papers of Andrew Johnson, IV.
[69]*Senate Journal of the State of Tennessee,* 1861 (first extra session), 59. *House Journal of the State of Tennessee,* 1861 (first extra session), 195.

of the convention alike sought to break party lines,[70] preceded the election of February 9 on "Convention" or "No Convention" in Tennessee. There were three different points of view concerning the matter. The Secessionists favored it and hoped to elect delegates who, if such a thing should be possible, would bring about Tennessee's secession. The members of one group of the Unionists were friendly to the convention because they believed that conservatives would control it and use it as a means of checking or making powerless the disunion sentiment in the state.[71] They advocated the selection of delegates pledged to prevent the secession of the state. The other group, much larger than the first, opposed the convention because they believed that there was no necessity for it and because they feared that Secessionists might gain control of it and take the state out of the Union. Nevertheless, they urged everyone to support candidates definitely committed to the maintenance of the state's position in the Union so that in case there should be a convention conservatives would control it and render it harmless.[72]

The people of Tennessee, irrespective of party lines, defeated the move to call a state convention by a substantial majority.[73] Furthermore, a "very decided majority of the delegates" whom they selected were Unionists.[74] There was little correlation between the vote in this contest and that in the presidential election of the preceding fall. Although the total vote was almost twenty thousand less in February than it had been in November when Bell had carried the state by a plurality of only a little more than four thousand, the convention lost by a majority of approximately eleven thousand five hundred. The majority against the convention was more than two hundred fifty votes greater than Douglas' entire vote in November had been.[75]

The refusal of a large majority of the people to sanction the holding of a convention which they feared might jeopardize the state's position in the Union or, at the least, serve to aggravate sectional animosity in the country at large, however, was not indicative of an unqualified adherence to the Union. It was rather the manifestation of a desire to remain in the Union provided certain conditions obtained. It was also the expression of a hope for a peaceful solution of the problems confronting the nation.

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[70]T. W. Watkins to Senator John J. Crittenden, January 19, 1861, John J. Crittenden Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); Cave Johnson to William B. Campbell, January 6, 1861, Campbell Papers; *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig,* January 19, 1861; Nashville *Union and American,* January 25, February 5, 1861; Memphis *Avalanche,* January 25, February 4, 1861.

[71]Nashville *Patriot,* February 3, 1861.

[72]*Republican Banner and Nashville Whig,* January 29, 1861.

[73]Nashville *Union and American,* March 3, 1861.

[74]W. P. Titus, *Picturesque Clarksville* (Clarksville, 1887), 259.

[75]Nashville *Union and American,* December 2, 1860, March 3, 1861.

Neither the conservatives, who favored remaining in the Union and attempting to win back the Gulf states, nor the radicals, who advocated withdrawing from the Union and joining them, regarded the February election as a final statement of Tennessee's position. A realistic conception of the state of national affairs prevented any feeling of assurance on that score by either group.[76]

With the exception of avowed Secessionists, Tennesseans, therefore, were

waiting, and impatiently, and anxiously watching, every move that is made in Congress, by the convention Socalled [the Peace Congress], [77] by the movements and speeches of the Pres't elect, on his rout from Springfield to Washington to catch a glimpse upon which to hang a hope, for the salvation of the country.[78]

Many were apprehensive lest the North had drawn the wrong inference from the February election.

If the Republican party see or fancy they see in this election an evidence of fear, and so assume upon it the bearing of a *conqueror* more than that of a friend, then indeed *God help Tennessee, and God help the South;* but if they receive it as an assurance that the old brotherly love beats strong in the South, and would flow back if it were not checked by the pride that leads to a dread of being mistaken for a suppliant, in lieu of being recognized as a forgiving friend, willing to forget the past and make provision for the prevention of any future misunderstanding; if they receive the news in this spirit, we say, why then all will yet be well.[79]

They were fearful that the "failure to call the convention taken in connection with Andy Johnson's speeches" might "strengthen the backbone of the Republicans and increase the difficulties of settlement." They believed that the fact that the Secessionists "trumpeted" this refusal as "unconditional submission" would also contribute to the same end.[80]

Unionists and Secessionists disagreed rather violently as to the probability of the Republicans' acceptance of a fair and peaceful solution of the dispute between the North and the South. The *Republican Banner* declared that Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee would accept nothing less than the Crittenden Compromise.[81]

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[76]John R. Neal, *Disunion and Restoration in Tennessee* (New York, 1899), 7.

[77]The Peace Congress or Conference, consisting of representatives from all except the seceding states, was in session in Washington from February 4 to 27, 1861.

[78]Simon Bradford to John J. Crittenden, February 21, 1861, Crittenden Papers.

[79]Memphis *Daily Argus,* February 11, 1861.

[80]Clarksville *Chronicle,* February 15, 1861.

[81]Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky had worked out a plan compromising the difficulties between the North and South, the main feature of which was a proposed constitutional amendment providing for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes to the Pacific with slavery prohibited north of it and protected south of it.

The *Union and American* pointed out that since the "Black Republicans" would not agree to this compromise, there was no way to avoid secession.[82] The Unionists hoped that the Peace Conference would arrive at some satisfactory adjustment of the controversy between the North and the South. Apparently the Tennessee delegation to this conference carried out the wishes of the majority of Tennesseans when they voted for all of the propositions[83] which that body adopted.[84] Some of the Unionists believed that Congress would adopt the proposals of the Peace Conference.[85] The Secessionists characterized the conference as a "magnificent failure" and did not think that there was the "remotest possibility of a reconstruction of the Union" upon the basis which this body of "venerable dummies" advocated.[86]

Unionists and Secessionists alike saw in Lincoln's inaugural address the verification of their hopes or fears, as the case might be. The *Patriot,* a Unionist paper of Nashville, commented thus upon it:

> He very correctly denies the doctrine of secession, regards the refractory States as still in the Union, and expresses his determination to execute the laws as far as practicable. Coercion does not necessarily follow. He cannot collect the taxes in the seceded States except by force and he is powerless to use military force except upon the call of the civil authorities. He will have to adapt himself to circumstances, therefore, and he will, we are persuaded, be far, very far, from attempting force where it is not justifiable, and in self defense. He is not so blind as not to see what will be the consequences of an attempt to coerce; and unless he desires to rush madly upon ruin, he will avoid hostilities.[87]

The *Avalanche,* a Memphis Secessionist paper, said that

> It is a fit initiation of an administration elected upon the bloody idea of inciting insurrection among our slaves, turning non-property holder against property holder, burning down our residences, murdering our wives and children, and carrying out all the infamous doctrines of the Helper[88] book.

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[82]Nashville *Union and American,* February 10, 1861.

[83]The conference proposed an amendment to the constitution very similar to the Crittenden proposal, but with an added provision that no additional territory should be acquired by the United States without the agreement of a concurrent majority of senators from both the slave and the free states.

[84]Nashville *Union and American,* March 3, 1861. Judge A. O. Totten voted against the first proposition, the prohibition of slavery north of the Missouri Compromise line.

[85]Congressman Robert Hatton to William B. Campbell, February 25, 1861, Campbell Papers.

[86]Memphis *Daily Argus,* February 18, 1861; Nashville *Union and American,* March 3, 1861.

[87]March 7, 1861.

[88]Hinton Helper, *The Impending Crisis of the South, How to Meet It* (New York, 1860). This book, a bitter indictment of the slavery system, apparently circulated in Tennessee although it was hard to get. R. A. McDonald to T. A. R. Nelson, January, 1860, T. A. R. Nelson Papers (McClung Collection, Lawson-McGhee Library).

A day later it asserted that the inaugural "threatens the immediate coercion by blockade, by land-invasion, by every means which fiendishness can suggest and power can afford, of our sister States of the South."[89]

The willingness of the people of Tennessee to accept almost any sort of compromise which would insure the preservation of the Union lasted until after the fall of Fort Sumter and President Lincoln's subsequent call for troops. These events convinced a majority of those who had previously refused to acquiesce in the policy of withdrawing from the Union of the futility of longer expecting a peaceful settlement of the dispute between the North and the South. The Nashville *Republican Banner* declared that Lincoln's proclamation calling for troops had forced the border states into rebellion, and, *ipse facto,* severed their allegiance to the Union. Furthermore,

> While the doctrine of secession will never be endorsed or accepted by the men who have constituted the Union Party, and who sought to preserve the Union as long as there was hope for its preservation, they have ever been prepared, when the crisis came, for rebellion and revolution.[90]

Although President Lincoln's call for troops after the fall of Fort Sumter solidified the opposition of all groups in Middle and West Tennessee against the federal government and caused them to despair of the hope of preserving the Union and consequently to favor Tennessee's uniting with the Confederate States, it had no such effect on the great majority of the people in East Tennessee. Nevertheless, there were some Unionists there who were apparently somewhat uncertain as to the proper course to pursue.[91]

Some hope, apparently born of sheer despair, still existed among certain Unionists even after Lincoln's call for troops that perhaps Tennessee could bring about peace between the two sections by combining with the other border states and refusing to join either the North or the South.[92] This idea of establishing a Border States Confederacy, which had existed at least since the early part of December, 1860,[93] was short-lived, however, on the part of all but a small number of Unionists in Middle and West Tennessee and of a larger group in East Tennessee. The others, having despaired of the state's being able to maintain a position of neutrality, joined the Secessionists in supporting all measures designed to carry the state out of the Union and to put it on a sound military footing.

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[89] March 5, 6, 1861.
[90] April 18, 1861.
[91] A. W. Howard to T. A. R. Nelson, April 17, 1861, Nelson Papers.
[92] Nashville *Republican Banner,* April 19, 1861; Nashville *Patriot,* April 14, 1861.
[93] Sam Milligan to Andrew Johnson, December 13, 1860, Johnson Papers, II.

In pursuance of the recommendations of Governor Harris, the legislature, which had met in a second extra session on April 25, passed a bill declaring that Tennessee had withdrawn from the United States and resumed its sovereignty as an independent state. It provided for the submission of this Declaration of Independence to a vote of the people on June 8.[94] At that time they were to vote for "Separation" [from the United States] or "No Separation" and "Representation" [in the Confederacy] or "No Representation."[95] The Senate passed this measure by a vote of twenty to four and the House by a vote of forty-six to twenty-one.[96] The only counties outside of East Tennessee which had representatives who opposed this proposal were Davidson, Robertson, Wayne, and White in Middle Tennessee, and Carroll and Henderson in West Tennessee.[97]

The legislature ratified the Military League which the commissioners, whom Governor Harris had appointed in accordance with a joint resolution of both houses of the legislature, had negotiated with the representative of the Confederate States by votes of fourteen to six in the Senate and forty-five to sixteen in the House. The opposition to this measure, like that to the Declaration of Independence, came mainly from East Tennessee.[98]

There was a heated campaign between those who advocated ratification of the measures of the state legislature and those who opposed them. Although this contest centered chiefly in East Tennessee,[99] there was some activity in Middle and West Tennessee.

More people in Tennessee took part in the election of June 8, 1861, than had participated in either the presidential election of the preceding November or the special state election of February 9, 1861. Of the number voting, 104,913 voted for "Separation" and 47,238 voted for "No Separation" and 104,102 voted for "Representation" and 47,264 voted for "No Representation." There was a relatively close correlation between the votes of East and West Tennessee in the elections of February and June, 1861. Such was not the case with Middle Tennessee. Whereas East Tennessee had decidedly opposed both the conven-

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[94]Governor Harris had proposed this method of dealing with the situation because he was "unwilling to interpose a convention between himself and the people." Henry W. Hilliard to Secretary Robert Toombs, April 29, 1861, *War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records* (Washington, 1890-91), Series I, Volume III, Part I, 77.

[95]*Public Acts,* 1861 (second extra session), 13-23.

[96]*Senate Journal,* 1861 (second extra session), 32-33; *House Journal,* 1861 (second extra session), 57.

[97]Other representatives subsequently replaced those from Davidson county.

[98]*Senate Journal,* 1861 (second extra session), 68-69; *House Journal,* 1861 (second extra session), 79.

[99]Thomas W. Humes, *The Loyal Mountaineers of East Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1888), 104.

tion and the Declaration of Independence and West Tennessee had just as decisively favored both, Middle Tennessee, which had voted down the convention by a small majority, cast an overwhelming majority of its votes for the Declaration of Independence.[100]

In view of the intense excitement which prevailed at the time, it seems extremely unlikely that there was a total absence of fraud and intimidation in the election of June 8. The probability is that both sides resorted to violence and corruption in certain instances. The Nashville papers resented the charges of *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* that the Disunionists in Middle and West Tennessee resorted to fraudulent voting and the use of force.[101] Apparently some Unionists in these sections refrained from voting because they saw the futility of it.[102] Since some Unionists in both East and West Tennessee asserted that there was virtual civil war in certain areas or that they wanted to seize the arms of the Disunionists, the opponents of the state administration evidently had some equipment with which to combat their enemies.[103]

Although the people of the state as a whole had voted two to one for separation and representation, those of East Tennessee had voted two to one against it. It was not strange, therefore, that many of the people of East Tennessee should have entertained the idea of setting up an independent state. Apparently the Unionist leaders who advocated this course recognized no inconsistency in their position in asserting that Tennessee's withdrawal from the Union was unconstitutional and of trying at the same time to justify and actually to bring about the secession of East Tennessee from the rest of the state.

On June 11 T. A. R. Nelson, the president of the East Tennessee Convention, pursuant to a resolution which that body had adopted on May 31 at its first session at Knoxville, issued a call for it to meet again at Greeneville on June 17. In its "Declaration of Grievances" this body asserted that although the people of East Tennessee had conducted the election of June 8 fairly, those of Middle and West Tennessee had not done so. It also declared that since the government of the United States had been free and tolerant, it preferred this government to that of the Confederacy which was both oppressive and intolerant. Its "Resolulutions" expressed a desire for peace, characterized the action of the state legislature in separating Tennessee from the Union and allying it with the Confederacy as unconstitutional, declared that in order to

[100]Nashville *Union and American,* December 2, 1860, March 3, June 25, 1861.

[101]*Union and American,* June 9, 1861; *Republican Banner,* June 16, 1861; *Patriot,* June 9, 1861.

[102]John Lellyet to Andrew Johnson, June 10, 1861, Johnson Papers, XI.

[103]W. H. Cherry, D. T. Street, H. M. Wood, Thomas Maxwell, Julius S. Perry, H. K. Broyles, and fourteen other men from Hardin and Wayne counties to John Lellyet, May 5, 1861, *ibid.;* R. A. Crawford to T. A. R. Nelson, July 18, 1861, Nelson Papers.

maintain peace it was presenting a memorial asking the legislature to permit the formation of a separate state of East Tennessee, and provided for the holding of an election for delegates to a constitutional convention to meet at Kingston at some time after the legislature had granted permission for the organization of East Tennessee into a separate state.[104]

Senator Boyd of Knox and Roane counties presented the memorial of the convention, substantially an incorporation of the ideas of the declaration of grievances and the resolutions, to the state Senate. A joint select committee of five members from each house of the legislature took it under consideration, and subsequently recommended that the legislature take no action on the matter at that time. It was not satisfied that the memorialists adequately and accurately represented the sentiment of East Tennessee. It pointed out that the formation of a new state of East Tennessee was a matter of concern to the entire state, but that Middle and West Tennessee had had no opportunity of expressing their opinions on the subject. It declared that if the citizens of East Tennessee really desired to form a new state, the legislature which the people would elect in a few months would be the proper body to deal with the problem. It earnestly hoped for the removal of "all causes of irritation between citizens of different sections of the state." The legislature unanimously accepted the report of the committee.[105]

East Tennessee's attempt to form itself into a separate state failed and the boundaries of the state remained intact. Thus, Tennessee, one of the border states which had "always stood between the two sections as a mighty breakwater to sectional feeling and action,"[106] reluctantly entered into the bitter struggle between the North and the South with a divided people.

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[104]*Proceedings of the E. Tenn. Convention* . . . (Knoxville, 1861), 13, 20-27.
[105]*Ibid.*, 26-28; *Senate Journal*, 1861 (third extra session), 70, 142-144, 176-178.
[106]*Maury Press* (Columbia), December 19, 1860.

THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE AND THE PEOPLE'S PARTY IN TENNESSEE*

By J. A. Sharp

The high tide of the agrarian movement in Tennessee was reached in 1890. In that year, the Farmers' Alliance, under the political guidance of John H. McDowell, succeeded in dominating the Democratic party and in electing its state president, John P. Buchanan, to the governorship.[1] The Alliance was influential also in the Tennessee congressional elections of 1890, and pledged one Democratic congressman, Rice A. Pierce, to support all its legislative demands, and all the Democratic congressmen to support its demand for free coinage of silver. Although a majority of alliancemen and farmers were elected to the General Assembly of 1891, this legislature failed to enact many laws of an Alliance character. On the whole, Governor Buchanan's administration was as conservative as former Democratic administrations in Tennessee, and the fears of the Bourbons, or old line Democrats, were belied. Encouraged by his victory over the Bourbon Democrats in 1890, McDowell lost no time in organizing the "wool hat boys"[2] of the Farmers' Alliance for a similar victory in 1892. But this organization work of McDowell was complicated by the appearance of the People's party in Tennessee, and the disruption of the Alliance by this party. Furthermore, the Bourbons, regretful of their compromise with the Alliance in 1890, repudiated the leadership of McDowell and Buchanan and organized their forces for a battle to the death against the secret agrarian order. This conflict was bitterly contested in 1891 and 1892, and resulted in the return of the Bourbons to power in the latter year.

The conservative nature of Governor Buchanan's administration brought general expressions of public favor in 1891, but the Democratic-Alliance governor suffered considerable decline in prestige as a result of the East Tennessee coal miners' insurrections of that year.[3] These insurrections were violent protests against the state's policy of leasing her convicts to mining corporations, thus bringing cheap convict labor into competition with free labor. The first outbreak occurred at the Tennessee Coal Mining Company's mine at Briceville on July 14, when

*Read before the Society at Knoxville, March 4, 1938.

[1]See J. A. Sharp, "The Entrance of the Farmers' Alliance into Tennessee Politics," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 77-92.

[2]This phrase was applied generally to the small farmers of the South during this period.

[3]Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 154. See also Sharp, *op. cit.,* 90-92.

armed miners released the convicts and forced the company to take them to Knoxville. The Briceville miners also objected to the failure of the mining company to allow the employment of check-weighmen as permitted by state law, and to the company's policy of paying them in discounted scrip instead of money.[4] A similar outbreak soon followed at Coal Creek. Governor Buchanan, acting promptly in this emergency, sent three companies of militia to the scenes of disorder, with the result that the convicts were returned to the mines.[5] Although he recognized that many of the miners' grievances were just, the governor went to Briceville and announced to the assembled miners that he was obligated to enforce the law.[6] The miners demanded complete abolition of the convict lease system, and received the promise of Buchanan to call a special session of the legislature to deal with the trouble. The legislature assembled, but did nothing toward correcting the evils of the lease system. After its adjournment the disappointed miners again released the convicts at Briceville and Coal Creek and also at Oliver Springs.[7] Several companies of militia were now dispatched to East Tennessee, and the convicts were soon returned to the mines. These revolts did not end Governor Buchanan's troubles with the miners, because similar outbreaks occurred in 1892.

Although there was little criticism of Governor Buchanan's administration of state affairs in 1891, the Bourbon Democrats never fully accepted the governor that the Farmers' Alliance forced them to nominate in 1890. Buchanan further gained their distrust when he ignored them in patronage matters by appointing several of his Alliance friends to state positions. They objected particularly to the appointment of John H. McDowell to the lucrative position of coal oil inspector at Nashville.[8] In order to devote his full time to his duties as president of the state Alliance, McDowell appointed an assistant to attend to his Nashville job and surrendered the editorship of the *Weekly Toiler* to L. K. Taylor of Fayetteville.[9] McDowell now directed his efforts toward perfecting the Alliance organization for the campaigns of 1892. Early in 1891, Alliance organizations were formed in each congressional district of the state.[10] In June, state Alliance officials met in Nashville

[4]A. C. Hutson, Jr., "The Coal Miners' Insurrections of 1891 in Anderson County, Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 7 (1935), 103-121; Tennessee *House Journal*, 1891 (extra), 20.

[5]*House Journal*, 1891 (extra session), 18, 19; Knoxville *Tribune*, July 24, 1891.

[6]Hutson, *op. cit.*, 109; *House* Journal, 1891 (extra), 20.

[7]Knoxville *Tribune*, October 31, November 1, 3, 1891.

[8]Nashville *Banner*, April 7, 1891; Knoxville *Journal*, April 27, 1891; Knoxville *Tribune*, January 27, 1891. Other alliancemen to receive state positions were: James V. Fulkerson of Knox County, coal oil inspector at Knoxville; E. B. Wade of Rutherford county, superintendent of state prisons; D. G. Godwin of Shelby County, commissioner of agriculture; and J. H. Bitticks of Obion county, superintendent of the capitol.

[9]Knoxville *Journal*, April 27, 1891.

[10]Knoxville *Tribune*, March 28, 1891.

and developed plans for a thorough canvass of the state. After this meeting, McDowell and other Alliance speakers toured the state, speaking in the interest of the order's legislative demands, and McDowell challenged both Democratic and Republican leaders to meet him in joint debate to discuss these issues.[11]

Like most Southern agrarian leaders of this period, McDowell was regarded as a political upstart by the Bourbon leaders of Tennessee. They were alarmed, nevertheless, by his renewed efforts to control the party, and charged him with having aspirations to succeed United States Senator William B. Bate in 1893. McDowell's denial that he was a senatorial candidate was not convincing, since he admitted that he was the choice of many Alliancemen, and that the Alliance intended to work for the election of a senator favorable to the Alliance demands.[12] In order to defeat his efforts, the Bourbon press now made McDowell the target of a volley of editorial derision, abuse and castigation unequalled in Tennessee journalism since the days of "Parson" Brownlow's *Whig*. Edward W. Carmack, youthful and brilliant editor of the Nashville *American,* was the leader in this editorial warfare.[13] In reference to McDowell's reputed senatorial ambitions, Carmack wrote:

> Of course Brother McDowell will go to the United States Senate. The first time we ever beheld him we were seized with the gift of prophecy and named him as a future Senator. We know that God-Almighty never gave him that mass of storm stricken and insurrectionary whiskers and made him look like a weather beaten tintype of Senator Peffer for nothing. United States Senator McDowell, noble knight of the horny hand and stone bruised heel, we, the played-out, Bourbon, moss-back, upper-case Democrats salute thee.[14]

Carmack also ridiculed the Alliance subtreasury scheme by proposing that the federal government should establish "Hog-Pen and Pig-Tail money" subtreasuries and warehouses in Tennessee, and that the farmers should be allowed to deposit their hogs in the warehouses as security for loans at nominal rates of interest. It was suggested further by the facetious Carmack that the offices of "tail-trimmer and abbreviator" and "tail-fitter and adjuster" be created, and that McDowell and Rice A Pierce, the Alliance congressman, be appointed to fill these positions.[15] Not content with mere ridicule of McDowell, Carmack, through the *American,* promoted attacks on the personal and political record of the

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[11]Nashville *Banner,* April 8, 1891; Nashville *American,* June 12, 1891.

[12]Knoxville *Journal,* April 9, 1891.

[13]Dr. Nathan D. McDowell (Rochester, N. Y.) to the writer, May 14, 1931. In reference to these attacks, Dr. McDowell wrote: "The Bourbon Democrats were ready to resort to almost any methods to defeat my Father's efforts. Senator Carmack, who was then editor of the Nashville *American,* sponsored personal attacks of which they were later no doubt ashamed for Senator Carmack later became a friend of J. H. McDowell."

[14]Knoxville *Journal,* April 11, 1891, quoting Nashville *American.*

[15]*Ibid.,* April 14, 1891.

Alliance leader. For instance, the *American* charged that McDowell, while living in Arkansas during the Reconstruction period, was a member of the "Loyal League," and as such fraternized closely with the newly enfranchised colored citizens. It was even said that while in Arkansas he dined with one Negro named Jehazy Cole.[16] Presenting sworn statements from his former Arkansas neighbors to show that his record there was above reproach, McDowell denied these charges and announced that it was a Bourbon conspiracy to "ruin me politically because I have the courage to follow my convictions and advocate the demands of the Farmers' Alliance."[17] That McDowell retained the confidence of the majority of Tennessee alliancemen in spite of such efforts to discredit him was shown by his unanimous reëlection as president of the state Alliance soon after these charges were published.[18]

Such warfare between the Democratic press and McDowell made it evident that the Bourbons were determined to prevent the renomination of Governor Buchanan in 1892, and thus rid the party of Alliance domination. Perhaps, the Nashville *American* best expressed this determination soon after McDowell's reëlection as president of the state Alliance by this announcement:

> The Alliance under its present corrupt leadership is a menace to the Democratic party and utterly subversive of every sound principle of government. . . . This issue is joined and the battle is on. The Alliance leaders may as well understand it now, that if a secret, oath-bound, one-class political party captures the next Democratic convention they will realize that they have had a fight when they take the prize.[19]

Bourbon leaders, who were formerly willing to compromise with the Alliance, now expressed themselves in no uncertain terms against political domination by the agrarian order. Congressman Josiah Patterson, Buchanan's Bourbon opponent for the nomination in 1890, denounced McDowell and other Alliance leaders as the "most arrant set of knaves that ever masqueraded in any political guise or any so-called set of principles."[20] Senator Bate also was quite severe in his cricitism of the subtreasury and land loan demands of the Alliance.[21] Even "Bob" Taylor, Buchanan's predecessor as governor and himself a favorite among Tennessee farmers, was opposed to the political activities of the

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[16]Nashville *American,* June 25, 1891.

[17]Knoxville *Tribune,* July 14, 1891, quoting Nashville *Banner.*

[18]Knoxville *Tribune,* August 14, 1891. The other Alliance officers were: first vice-president, Frank M. Smith, Knox county; second vice-president, Matt Rhea, Fayette county; secretary and treasurer, L. K. Taylor, Davidson county; state lecturer, R. W. Tucker, Wayne county; executive board members, A. L. Mims, J. L. Baxter, W. F. Gynne, and T. B. Carson.

[19]Knoxville *Tribune,* August 16, 1891, quoting Nashville *American.*

[20]*Ibid.,* September 18, 1891, quoting St. Louis *Republic.*

[21]Knoxville *Tribune,* December 17, 1891.

Alliance, and announced that the "time has already arrived when every Democratic orator in the state ought to be upon the stump, warning the people against the wild heresies which have been hatched for the overthrow of the Democratic government and the ruin of agriculture itself."[22] At the call of the Democratic state executive committee,[23] Democratic speakers did take the stump against the Alliance, and at least two congressmen, Joseph E. Washington and H. C. Snodgrass, met McDowell in joint debate.[24] Before the end of 1891, Bourbon successors to Buchanan were mentioned freely; the most prominent of these was Peter Turney, chief justice of the state supreme court.[25]

Judge Turney, the son of Hopkins L. Turney, who represented Tennessee in the United States Senate from 1845 to 1851, was born in Franklin county in 1827. He studied law under his father, was admitted to the bar in 1848, and began his career as a lawyer in partnership with his father in Winchester after the retirement of the latter from the Senate in 1851. In 1861, when Tennessee at first hesitated to leave the Union, Turney, an ardent secessionist, led the movement to withdraw Franklin county from Tennessee and attach it to Alabama.[26] After Tennessee joined the Confederacy, Turney became colonel of a regiment of Tennessee infantrymen in the Confederate army, and was wounded severely in the battle of Fredericksburg. After the war he resumed his law practice at Winchester. During the Reconstruction period, he bitterly opposed the Radical regime of Governor William G. Brownlow, and when the Democrats came back into power in 1870 he was elected to the supreme court. In 1886, he became chief justice.[27]

Early in 1892, Democratic papers throughout the state were united in opposition to continued Alliance domination, and were insistent that Judge Turney accept the role of the Bourbon candidate against Governor Buchanan.[28] Turney was not averse to leading the Bourbon forces in the campaign, and announced his candidacy in a letter which warned the Democrats of the "danger of falling into snares and traps of designing men, who are organizing secret and oath bound societies for selfish purposes, and laboring to foist their heresies upon the Democratic

[22] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1891.

[23] *Ibid.*, October 3, 1891. The members of the Democratic executive committee were: T. M. McConnell, chairman, J. B. Frazier, S. P. Yoe, W. L. Ledgerwood, J. G. Aydelotte, J. N. McKenzie, E. B. Wade, S. A. Champion, J. W. Childress, J. H. Head, N. W. Baptist, W. W. Wade, J. S. Galloway, and J. T. Jobe.

[24] Nashville *American*, October 5, 1891.

[25] Knoxville *Tribune*, September 8, 1891, quoting Memphis *Commercial*.

[26] Knoxville *Journal*, May 16, 1892.

[27] John Trotwood Moore and Austin P. Foster, *Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1769-1923* (Nashville, 1923), II, 241.

[28] Robison, *op. cit.*, 158, 159; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, February 24, 1892, quoting Nashville *Herald*.

party."[29] Turney's announcement was hailed by the party press with great joy, and he was called the "grand old man," the "great Commoner," and a "Democrat from base to summit."[30] Equally as favorable were such expressions as: "To Democrats of Tennessee the name of Peter Turney is an inscribed legend"; "the party sorely needs a few copious hypodermic injections of Old Pete's Bourbon Democracy"; and "no one is better able to make the fight for the reassertion of Democratic principles than Judge Turney."[31] The Republican Knoxville *Journal* aptly explained this faith in the following words:

> One of Judge Turney's strong points in the estimation of his supporters is that he never changes. His policies are the same yesterday, today and forever. He was born a Democrat, was a Democrat when he chased butterflies over the verdant fields of his native heath, when he played marbles with the boys for keeps, and went in swimming on Sunday. He was a Democrat when he donned his first pair of red-topped boots, long before he became a voter he has stood by the old party. That is the way he was put up—he can't help it, and don't want to. He prides himself upon his consistency not only in politics but everything else.[32]

Indeed, Judge Turney was a true representative of the old line Democrats, and was a good Bourbon candidate.

While the Bourbons united their forces behind the candidacy of Judge Turney, McDowell continued his work for the renomination of Governor Buchanan. McDowell's efforts to organize the alliancemen for the campaign, however, were seriously handicapped by the People's party which appeared first in Tennessee in 1891 after its organization at Cincinnati in May of that year.[33] This third party movement began in the West where the Alliance and other agrarian orders engaged in independent political action in 1890.[34] At first the movement met with determined opposition from Southern Alliance-Democrats who preferred to remain inside the Democratic party and control it as they did in 1890, rather than join the third party, which they feared would result in a divided Democracy and Republican and Negro rule in the South.[35] The third party received its first national boost in the convention of the Southern Alliance at Ocala, Florida, in December, 1890, when the Western delegates in spite of Southern opposition succeeded

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[29]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* March 2, 1892.

[30]*Ibid.,* quoting Clarksville *Progress;* Knoxville *Journal,* April 5, 1892.

[31]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* March 2, 9, 1892, quoting Franklin *Review and Appeal,* McMinnville *Standard,* and Nashville *Banner.*

[32]September 15, 1892.

[33]John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt* (Minneapolis, 1931), 212-215.

[34]Solon J. Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade* (New Haven, 1920), 132-136. See also, Hicks, *op. cit.,* 153-156.

[35]Fred E. Haynes, *Third Party Movements Since the Civil War* (Iowa City, 1916), 245-247; Frank M. Drew, "The Present Farmers' Movement," *Political Science Quarterly,* VI (New York, 1891), 308-309.

in calling the Cincinnati convention which formed the People's party. The actual launching of the new party occurred in a confederation gathering of agrarian and labor organizations at St. Louis on February 22, 1892. The platform of the People's party was merely a summary of the Alliance demands adopted at St. Louis in 1889 and at Ocala in 1890.[36]

Like most Southern Alliance leaders, McDowell at first opposed the third party and denied that the Tennessee Alliance had any connection with the People's party. He still hoped that the Alliance would be able to control the Democratic party and secure Governor Buchanan's renomination.[37] Therefore, the Tennessee Alliance had no official representatives at the Cincinnati convention of May, 1891, when the People's party was organized.[38] In fact, the entire South had few delegates at this convention; many Southern delegates, however, attended the agrarian-labor confederation meeting at St. Louis in February, 1892, when the People's party was formally launched. McDowell attended the St. Louis convention as a representative of the Tennessee Alliance, but like other Southern delegates he opposed the nomination of a national Populist ticket at that time. These Southern Alliance-Democrats were still hopeful that the national Democratic convention would accept the Alliance demands and that the Democratic Congress would enact a free coinage of silver law.[39] The Populists did postpone the nomination of a national ticket, but called a convention for this purpose to meet at Omaha on July 2, 1892.

Returning to Tennessee from St. Louis, McDowell denied that he had deserted the Democratic party, but he started an agrarian-labor movement in the state, similar to the national movement, which was of undoubted third party significance. An assembly of labor and Alliance leaders, called the "State Labor Congress," was held at Nashville on February 29.[40] McDowell was chairman of the meeting and apparently

[36]At St. Louis, in 1889, the Southern Alliance adopted its first demands which included the abolition of national banks, the prevention of the dealing in futures in agricultural and mechanical products, free coinage of silver, prohibition of alien ownership of land and government reclamation of excess lands held by the railroads and other corporations, tariff reduction, a graduated income tax, an increase of the currency, and government ownership of the railroads. At Ocala, in 1890, the demands for the subtreasury and warehouse system and for popular election of United States senators were added to the Alliance platform; also Southern opposition to government ownership of the railroads caused the modification of this plank of the Alliance platform to strict governmental supervision and control of the transportation and communication systems. However, the platform of the People's party adopted at Omaha in 1892 demanded government ownership of the railroads, and also of the telephone and telegraph systems. For the Alliance and Populist platforms, see Hicks, *op. cit.*, 430, 431; Drew, *op. cit.*, 286-292.

[37]Knoxville *Journal*, April 7, 1891.

[38]*Ibid.*, May 22, 1891.

[39]Chattanooga *Times*, February 23, 24, 1892.

[40]Knoxville *Journal*, March 2, 1892.

moulded its proceedings. An organization similar to the state Alliance with secret rituals was formed. The miners' rebellions of 1891 and the dissatisfaction of Tennessee labor with the convict lease system were reflected in many of the demands adopted at this meeting. These demands included the abolition of the convict lease system, the removal of the state prison from Nashville, the requirement that mine operators collect the money from the miners to pay the check weighmen, the arbitration of labor disputes, prohibition of child labor, compulsory education, industrial schools for youthful criminals, cheaper textbooks, and better protection and ventilation in mines and factories.[41] The apparent purpose of this agrarian-labor meeting was to unite the state labor forces with the alliancemen behind the candidacy of Governor Buchanan for the Democratic renomination.

The campaign between Governor Buchanan and Judge Turney began in the county primaries and conventions which selected the delegates to the state convention, and definite signs of the Democratic dissension appeared in several counties. The hasty action of Governor Buchanan's friends in Shelby county, who controlled the party machinery there, in calling a primary and convention before the date was set for the state convention, alarmed the Turney faction all over the state.[42] The result was a meeting of prominent Turney supporters at Nashville on March 10 to organize for the state campaign. Ex-Governor James D. Porter presided at this meeting, and Edward W. Carmack, then editor of the Memphis *Commercial,* and the leading editorial spokesman of the Bourbons against Alliance domination, was also present.[43] The defiant tone of the Bourbons in the campaign was set at this meeting by Frank P. Bond, who proclaimed:

> We will fight Jehazy McDowell, and teach true Democracy. We will fight from Dan to Beersheba, from Cape Cod to Kalamazoo, and from hell to breakfast. We will meet Ocalaites and third party men, and say to them, "You can't come in."[44]

After this meeting, Buchanan's friends, who confidently expected the governor to win an early victory in Shelby county and thus start the campaign with greater prestige, were disappointed in the results of the Shelby county convention on March 16, because the delegates to the state convention were about equally divided between Buchanan and Turney.[45]

The next signs of the Democratic inter-party warfare appeared in Rutherford county, where Governor Buchanan lived. At a Democratic mass meeting in Murfreesboro on April 2, the Buchanan faction, led by

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[41] *Ibid.*
[42] *Ibid.,* March 10, 1892.
[43] *Ibid.,* March 11, 1892. See also, Robison, *op. cit.,* 164, 165.
[44] Knoxville *Journal,* March 11, 1892.
[45] *Ibid.,* March 16, 17, 1892; Chattanooga *Times,* March 17, 1892.

E. B. Wade, Buchanan's superintendent of prisons and a prominent allianceman, insisted that the county executive committee, which was controlled by Buchanan's friends, should appoint the county's delegates to the state convention. The Turney faction, bitterly opposing this proposal and demanding that the county's delegates be selected by a county primary and convention, withdrew from the meeting after the chairman, Reverend P. A. Lyon, pastor of Buchanan's church, ruled that the Buchanan supporters were in the majority and that the delegates would be appointed by the Buchanan controlled committee. The Turney faction now held a county primary and convention, and the result was two sets of delegates from Rutherford county to the state convention.[46] Similar Democratic division occurred in the Tipton county convention at Covington on April 16. After the Turney faction, which seemed to be in the majority, had selected delegates to the state convention, the Buchanan faction, under the leadership of N. W. Baptist, Covington lawyer and member of the Democratic state executive committee, withdrew from the convention and appointed Buchanan delegates.[47]

As the campaign advanced through the months of March, April, and May, many Alliance-Democrats, who were Buchanan supporters, joined the People's party, thus disrupting the Farmers' Alliance and preventing Governor Buchanan's renomination by the Democratic party. Tennessee Bourbons displayed the utmost contempt toward these former Democrats, and disparagingly referred to them as "Populites," while charging them with giving aid to the Republican party and endangering Democratic control of the state. This was the general Bourbon attitude toward Southern Populists in 1892, which was described well by the Populist historian, Dr. John D. Hicks, when he wrote that

> those who joined the People's party became in the eyes of their Democratic neighbors not merely political apostates but traitors to civilization itself, more to be reviled even than the Republicans into whose hands they played. They invited upon themselves every stinging epithet, every scandalous remark, that a host of scurrilous editors and orators could devise.[48]

Indeed, the bitter and vindictive policy of Turney's Bourbon supporters toward Buchanan's Alliance supporters contributed much to the Populist movement in Tennessee. The fight centered upon the demands of the Alliance adopted at Ocala, Florida, in 1890—including the subtreasury plan, abolition of the national banks, and government control or ownership of railroads, as well as other less radical proposals. Since

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[46]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* April 6, 1892; Knoxville *Journal,* April 3, 4, 1892.

[47]Information about the Tipton county convention was obtained from a scrapbook kept by N. W. Baptist, whose son, Judge R. B. Baptist of Covington, kindly allowed the writer the use of this material, which consists of clippings relating to the Tipton county convention from the Memphis *Appeal-Avalanche,* the Memphis *Commercial,* the Covington *Leader,* and the Tipton *Record.*

[48]Hicks, *op. cit.,* 243.

the People's party made the Ocala demands a part of its platform, Tennessee Bourbons classified all alliancemen who believed in these demands as "Populities," and exacted Democratic pledges from them before allowing them to engage in Democratic primaries and conventions.[49] Such proscriptive methods caused many alliancemen to join the People's party and caused many others, who were believers in the Ocala demands but not third party men, to refuse to take part in the Democratic primaries and conventions.[50]

By the first of June Bourbon control of the Democratic party was complete, and Judge Turney's nomination was assured. In the meantime the People's party completed its disruption of the Farmers' Alliance in Tennessee. In May, L. L. Polk, president of the Southern Alliance, advised Southern alliancemen to support Populist candidates in national elections.[51] Following this advice, L. K. Taylor, editor of the *Weekly Toiler,* announced that the Alliance organ of Tennessee would support the Populist candidates for president and Congress in the approaching elections. Many Alliance-Democrats in the state opposed this endorsement of the People's party by Taylor; notable among these were Governor Buchanan, R. W. Tucker, state Alliance lecturer, and E. B. Wade, former secretary and treasurer of the state Alliance and Buchanan's superintendent of prisons. Governor Buchanan announced his position in relation to the People's party in a statement in which he said that as a "life-long" Democrat he could "bear no relation to any third party movement," and that he still advocated as he did in 1890, "tariff reform, free coinage of silver, an increase in the volume of the currency sufficient to meet the demands of business and commerce, and some constitutional democratic means of circulation at a less cost to the people than that now furnished by the national banks."[52] The opposition of many Alliance-Democrats to the People's party was expressed best by the Alliance lecturer, Tucker, who said that he opposed any course which would "endanger the Democratic party in the state and turn the state over to the Republican party."[53]

The official relation of the Tennessee Alliance to the People's party was shown by a meeting of alliancemen at Nashville on June 1. Division among the alliancemen resulted over a resolution to support the policy of the *Toiler* in endorsing national Populist candidates. The conservative faction opposed this resolution and favored remaining in the Democratic party and working for the Alliance demands as in the past, while the radical faction favored joining the People's party which already had

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[49]Knoxville *Journal,* March 2, April 14, 1892.
[50]Robison, *op. cit.,* 164. See also, Sharp, *op. cit.,* 84.
[51]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* May 4, 11, 1892.
[52]*Ibid.,* May 18, 1892, quoting Nashville *Banner.*
[53]Knoxville *Journal,* May 16, 1892.

adopted the Alliance demands. The conservatives were strong enough to defeat this direct endorsement of the Populists, but both Alliance factions agreed on an indirect endorsement of the third party by adopting a resolution that the *Toiler* should "fearlessly and boldly advocate the demands of our order regardless of party, and that it should support such men as shall adopt and endorse them."[54] Thus the Tennessee Alliance rather ingeniously placed its official stamp of approval on Populism, because the old party candidates did not endorse the Alliance demands in 1892.

The first People's party convention in Tennessee met at Nashville on June 28. By this time Alliance-Democrats had abandoned all hopes for Governor Buchanan's renomination by the Democratic convention, and McDowell and many other alliancemen had aligned themselves definitely with the People's party. McDowell was in complete control of the Populist convention which selected delegates to the national People's party convention to be held at Omaha on July 2.[55] The Tennessee Populists adopted a platform which condemned the Democratic Congress for its failure to enact a free coinage of silver law, and scored both old parties as the tools of corporations and Wall Street. Most of the platform was similar to the Ocala demands and the national Populist platform; therefore it favored free coinage of silver, an increase in the currency to not less than fifty dollars per capita, a graduated income tax, laws to prevent the dealing in futures in agricultural products, and popular election of United States senators.[56] Omitted from the platform, however, was any mention of the subtreasury plan, abolition of national banks, or tariff reduction, all of which were included in the Ocala demands and the national Populist platform. Neither did the Tennessee Populists ask for government ownership of the railroad and telegraph lines; they did, however, demand strict governmental regulation of the means of transportation and communication. In state affairs, Tennessee Populists insisted on the abolition of the convict lease system and the prohibition of child labor in factories and workshops.[57]

After adopting their platform, the Populists considered the nomination of a candidate for governor, but decided to postpone such action until Governor Buchanan's definite course was known. Many Populists,

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[54] *Ibid.*, June 2, 1892.

[55] *Ibid.*, June 29, 1892. The delegates were: state at large, J. H. McDowell, Davidson county; L. K. Taylor, Lincoln county; T. H. Askew, Obion county; J. F. Nelson, Washington county; S. S. Bond, Madison county; and John M. Meek, Jefferson county. First district, John Jaynes; Second district, ———; Third district, F. P. Dickey; Fourth district, M. P. Young; Fifth district, J. L. Baxter; Sixth district, W. K. Campbell; Seventh district, S. C. Galloway; Eighth district, William Rush; Ninth district, D. W. Toney; Tenth district, T. V. Nihil.

[56] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopedia*, 1892, p. 726; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, July 6, 1892; Knoxville *Journal*, June 29, 1892.

[57] Robison, *op. cit.*, 167, 168.

former Alliance-Democrats and supporters of Buchanan, were anxious that he make the race for reëlection as an Independent, and submitted the Populist platform to him for his approval. McDowell proposed this course and promised Buchanan Populist support as an Independent candidate.[58] Some Alliance-Democrats, who had remained in the Democratic party, were as anxious as the Populists that the governor become an Independent candidate, and on July 25 a committee of such supporters from Montgomery county, who called themselves "Buchanan Democrats," asked the governor to announce his Independent candidacy.[59] Five days later Buchanan withdrew his name from the Democratic contest, since he was positive that the Turney faction would control the Democratic convention. In his statement of withdrawal the governor strongly condemned his opponents, whom he termed the "sky-blue bolters" or "Radicals," for their fight against him as a member of the Alliance, which he said was a "useful organization of honorable men, non-partisan in character and valuable in developing and guarding the agricultural interests of the land." He was likewise vigorous in his denunciation of the prescriptive pledges and "iron-clad oaths" which the Turney faction used to obtain control of the party machinery. Finally, Governor Buchanan insisted that he was still a Democrat, and that he was true to the Democratic party as well as to the Alliance.[60]

The month of August, 1892, was an eventful one in the political career of Governor Buchanan. On August 9, the Democratic convention nominated Judge Turney. Buchanan received only a few votes, but while the convention was still in session word was passed to the governor's friends to meet after adjournment. These "Buchanan Democrats" could not unite on the course the governor should pursue. A resolution, asking him to announce as an Independent, was passed, although some of Buchanan's friends withdrew when they failed to pass a resolution asking him to support the regular nominee, Judge Turney.[61] The demand from "Buchanan Democrats," as well as from Populists, became quite strong that the governor should make the race for reëlection as an Independent.[62] But before he could announce his candidacy, East Tennessee miners again rebelled, burned the convict stockades and released the convicts at Tracy City, Inman, Oliver Springs, and Coal Creek.[63] Two militiamen were killed in a conflict with the miners at Coal Creek, and the warlike spirit of the Old Volunteer State was aroused again. Criticism was heaped upon the governor by his political foes who charged him with indecision and sympathy for the

[58]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* June 29, 1892.
[59]Chattanooga *Times,* August 10, 1892.
[60]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* August 3, 1892.
[61]Chattanooga *Times,* August 10, 1892.
[62]Knoxville *Journal,* August 7, 1892; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* August 10, 1892.
[63]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* August 17, 24, 31, 1892.

rebellious miners. He received even more criticism when he commuted to life imprisonment the death sentence of H. Clay King, wealthy Memphis murderer. In protest, Memphis citizens burned the governor in effigy. In the midst of all this criticism and his efforts to restore order among the miners, Buchanan, on August 15, published his announcement as an Independent candidate for governor. He said his announcement came as the result of demands from "thousands of the voters of the state who have heretofore made solid the ranks of the Democratic party . . . , but who have been driven from their rightful share in party control by the unprecedented and undemocratic methods pursued by the sky-blue leaders of the Turney faction."[64]

With his announcement, Governor Buchanan submitted a platform which showed unquestionably his Alliance and Populist sympathies, but like the platform of the Tennessee Populists it was more conservative than the national reform program of the People's party. In national affairs the governor favored such Populist proposals as free coinage of silver, an increase in the circulating medium sufficient to meet the needs of business, abolition of the national banks, a graduated income tax, popular election of United States senators, restriction of the dealing in futures in agricultural products, and prohibition of alien ownership of land; but there was no mention in the governor's platform of the subtreasury scheme, land loans, or government ownership or control of the railroads. In two important respects the governor's reform program went beyond that of the Tennessee Populists; namely, in his advocacy of the abolition of national banks and prohibition of alien ownership of land. In respect to tariff reduction, which the Tennessee Populists omitted from their platform, Buchanan even went further than the traditional Democratic position and placed himself on record as an advovocate of free trade in his declaration for "free commerce with all nations, and a tariff restriction only when revenue from other sources are insufficient to meet the expenses of an economical government." Perhaps Governor Buchanan's Democratic sympathies were shown best by his opposition to federal interference with state elections. In state affairs the governor's experience with the East Tennessee miners' insurrections was reflected in his endorsement of labor's demands for the abolition of the convict lease system and the removal of the state prison from Nashville. He also made a bid for labor support by favoring laws for the arbitration of labor disputes and prohibition of child labor in mines and factories. Finally, Buchanan's platform asked for liberal taxes for the public schools and a convention to revise the state constitution.[65] On August 18, three days after the governor's announcement, the Populists assembled again in Nashville, and, as promised by Mc-

[64]Knoxville *Journal*, August 16, 1892.
[65]*Ibid.* See also, Robison, *op. cit.*, 171.

Dowell, endorsed the Independent candidacy of Buchanan whose platform they said was "in accord with the reform movement."[66]

At this point some consideration of the Democratic platform is necessary. In 1890 the Tennessee Democracy, under Alliance domination, accepted the Alliance demand for free coinage of silver; in 1892, however, with the Alliance disrupted and many of its members in the People's party, and Grover Cleveland the Democratic candidate for president on an anti-free silver platform, the Tennessee Democracy, under Bourbon domination, renounced its former position in favor of this Alliance demand. For this reason Governor Buchanan, whose platform favored free coinage, claimed that while the Democracy had changed, he had remained true to the platform of 1890. In regard to the convict lease system, the Democrats favored its abolition "at the earliest date legally permissible," but at the same time they announced their belief in the principle that the "support of our penal institutions should come from the labor of those legally confined in them, and not from a tax upon the honest people of the state."[67] Perhaps it should be said that few people in Tennessee had formed definite opinions on this problem, forced so suddenly to their attention by rebellion and bloodshed. For many years Tennessee Democrats had defended the lease system because it was an economical method of caring for the convicts. Therefore, they hesitated to tax the people to remove the convicts from competition with free labor, although they recognized the need for a change. Even Governor Buchanan, whose experience with the miners convinced him that the system must be discarded, did not favor abolition before expiration of the lease contract in 1896. He did recommend, however, that the state make the convicts self-supporting and remove them from competition with free labor by working them on public roads, state farms and in prison workshops.[68] Like Buchanan's platform, the Democratic platform also favored the removal of the state prison from Nashville and the construction of a prison large enough to hold all the state's convicts and to permit the separation of youthful offenders from the "association and influence of abandoned and hardened criminals."[69]

In 1892 Tennessee Republicans presented the strongest opposition to the convict lease system because it brought convict labor into competition with Republican miners in East Tennessee. Their platform demanded immediate abolition of the lease contract, and denounced Democratic state administrations for fostering and protecting this iniquitous method of caring for the state's convicts. The Republican candidate for

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[66]Knoxville *Journal*, August 18, 1892.
[67]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, August 17, 1892.
[68]Chattanooga *Times*, September 23, 1892; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, October 5, 1892.
[69]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, August 17, 1892.

governor, George W. Winstead, like Governor Buchanan, advocated the employment of the convicts on public roads and in prison workshops.[70]

In 1892 the distinguishing feature in Southern politics was the general coöperation between the Republicans and Populists against the dominant Democrats,[71] and rumors of such coöperation appeared early in the Tennessee campaign. For instance, the Democrats charged that the Republicans intended to take Winstead out of the race for governor and support Buchanan, and that in return for such aid the Republicans would receive Independent and Populist support for their presidential candidate, Benjamin Harrison. The Republicans, denying any intention of withdrawing Winstead, said that they would not support Buchanan since he was a Democrat and opposed to Republican policies.[72] McDowell, as chairman of the People's party executive committee, also denied that Tennessee Populists would support Harrison for president since there was an electoral ticket in the field for the Populist candidate for president, James G. Weaver.[73] It should be noted also that the Democratic press and orators frequently charged McDowell and the Populists with engineering Buchanan's Independent candidacy to divide the Democratic vote and thus cause the election of the Republican candidate. Republican leaders were not unaware of the aid rendered their party by a divided Democracy, and privately expressed themselves as confident of the election of the Harrison electoral ticket as well as of Winstead.[74] As the campaign advanced both Republicans and Populists admitted that they had fusion agreements on congressional and legislative candidates whereby the Populists would support the Republican candidates in congressional districts and counties where the Republicans were the strongest, and the Republicans would support the Populist candidates wherever the Populists were strongest.[75] Because of such fusion of their forces, the Republicans and the Populists hoped for the election of several congressmen and a majority in the legislature, and

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[70]Knoxville *Journal*, May 5, August 24, 1892.

[71]Hicks, *op. cit.*, 245-248.

[72]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, August 17, 1892; Knoxville *Journal*, September 1, 1892.

[73]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, September 7, 1892.

[74]George W. Winstead to John C. Houk, June 25, 1892; J. W. Baker to Houk, June 19, 1892; Houk to United States Senator Anthony Higgins (Delaware), September 23, 1892, L. C. Houk and John C. Houk MSS (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee).

[75]Chattanooga *Times*, October 17, 1892; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, September 7, 1892; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, September 14, 1892, quoting Memphis *Commercial*.

planned in the latter event to repeal the "obnoxious" election laws and to elect a United States senator.[76]

The final chapter in the campaign was written on October 23, when Democratic papers published a sensational account of the Republican-Populist fusion agreement. This story was in the form of two letters, revealing the crude though exaggerated details of the deal between the Republicans and Populists, written by prominent Republican leaders. One letter was written by Jo J. Ivins, editor of the Knoxville *Republican,* to D. W. Hill, Republican national committeeman for Tennessee, and the other was Hill's answer to Ivins. According to Ivins, the Republican national committee agreed to pay McDowell $15,000 for bringing Buchanan into the contest, for giving the Republicans a "clear field" for the Harrison electoral ticket, and for aiding the Republicans in electing congressmen and legislators. In addition to the $15,000, according to Ivins, McDowell was promised election to the United States Senate by the Republican-Populist controlled legislature, which also would repeal the election laws and give the Republicans "permanent control of the state." Ivins, who deplored the whole deal, charged that McDowell, except for the candidacy of Buchanan, failed to carry out his part of the bargain, in that he allowed Populist candidates to enter the race for Congress and the legislature in Republican districts and counties. Furthermore, Ivins said that McDowell, when the national committee was slow in paying him the $15,000, threatened to withdraw Buchanan. To prevent this J. W. Baker, chairman of the Republican state executive committee, and John C. Houk, Republican congressman from the second district, were forced to go to New York and urge the immediate payment of the money. Finally, Ivins summed up his dissatisfaction with the Republican-Populist deal by writing:

I go into details to emphasize the remarkable predicament we find ourselves in with a man of insatiable greed, unblushing corruption, and the most determined political perfidy; a man who can command and be paid money without stint, and whom we, as Republicans, have agreed to put in the United States Senate, to the everlasting disgrace of Tennessee, and as I verily believe, the utter ruin of Republican hopes in the state and the South. The question with me is whether we are not equally guilty with McDowell unless we expose him boldly and denounce the whole scheme, and whether the temporary ad-

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[76]The election laws which were so "obnoxious" to the Republicans were passed by the Tennessee legislature in 1889 and 1890. The first of these was the "Myer's" registration law which required voters in the more populous centers to register in their voting precincts and present registration certificates to the election officials. The second was the so-called "Dortch" law, an application of the Australian secret ballot to the more populous counties and cities, which required voters to mark their own ballots secretly, unless blind or otherwise physically disabled. The third law required the payment of a poll tax. See Sharp, *op. cit.,* 85, 86.

vantage we gain will not work the permanent damnation of the party in the state.[77]

In his answer to Ivins, Committeeman Hill agreed that the payment of $15,000 to McDowell was a mistake, and deplored the failure of the national committee to furnish any more money for the Tennessee campaign. Claiming that he did not know of the deal until he was informed about it by Chairman Baker, Hill stated further that he thought of protesting about the payments to McDowell, but was told by Baker that it was "no affair of mine, and none of my business." In addition, Hill wrote:

> As I figure it out, we have now lost fifteen thousand dollars on McDowell and Buchanan and have gained nothing. We ought to save our principles and party from disgrace. Already, it is common talk on the streets and in the highways. I am not going to let it injure me. It cannot injure John Houk because he, like myself, was let into it after the bargain was made and since then has only endeavored to see that the Republican party was not imposed on by holding McDowell to the terms. Neither do I censure Baker. He believed that he was taking a near and legitimate cut to success and I am satisfied, expected to see out of it victory.[78]

If a bombshell had been exploded in the Republican and Populist camps, no more consternation could have been created than the publication of the "Ivins-Hill" letters. Democratic papers both within and outside Tennessee filled columns with accounts of the Republican "bribery" of McDowell and of his "treacherous" attempt to sell the Populists and Buchanan to the Republicans.[79] There was little disposition to connect Buchanan with the deal; instead, the general opinion seemed to be that he was used as the "tool" or "unconscious victim" of the "wily and unscrupulous" McDowell.[80] Therefore, it is obvious that the Democrats published the letters to destroy the Republican-Populist fusion agreement by convincing Buchanan's Independent and Populist supporters, most of whom were former Democrats, that they had been betrayed by McDowell, and that they should support Judge Turney and the regular Democratic ticket. The general alarm of Republicans at this turn of

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[77]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* October 26, 1892. The October 23 issue of the *Daily Tribune,* in which the correspondence first appeared, was not available to the writer.

[78]*Ibid.*

[79]John B. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, November 13, 1892, O. P. Temple MSS (University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee). Brownlow, son of the Reconstruction governor, William G. Brownlow, wrote Temple from Washington: "The Hill-Ivins affair was kept standing in the columns of Democratic papers all over the country and was circulated by their national committee as a campaign document. . . ."

[80]Chattanooga *Times,* October 23, 1892; Chattanooga *Times,* October 23, 1892, quoting Memphis *Commercial;* Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* October 26, 1892, quoting New York *World,* Louisville *Courier Journal,* Birmingham *Age-Herald,* Morristown *Gazette,* Memphis *Commercial,* Johnson City *Comet,* Memphis *Scimitar,* Nashville *American,* and Nashville *Banner.*

events was expressed well by one man who wrote Congressman John C. Houk of Knoxville that "Hell has now been played. The Ivins-Hill letters have about shut out the last ray of hope for Harrison—Winstead and a combination legislature."[81] On the other hand, one of Houk's loyal Blount county constituents wrote that "No Tails That The Dimocrats Can Start wont have no affect in Old Blount."[82] Denial statements were soon forthcoming from all those concerned in the correspondence. Committeeman Hill claimed that he did not write the letter accredited to him, but merely signed it for Ivins, who was collecting opinions from prominent Republicans on the deal with McDowell.[83] Editor Ivins countered with the statement that Hill and other Republicans corresponded with him on the deal and that all agreed that the affair should be exposed. He had intended to do so through the columns of his own paper, the *Republican,* but he explained that he had not intended to publish the exact letters, or "delicate details." Ivins insinuated that the letters were stolen from his desk by the Democrats in a manner "reprehensible and not to be justified on any decent journalistic ground, even in these days of degenerate enterprise in Democratic politics."[84] Chairman Baker denied that he had any connection with the deal, but did not deny that McDowell received the $15,000 from the national committee. Neither did he deny the truth of the fusion agreement; in reference to it, he said:

> There has been an explicit understanding between myself and the third party leader that wherever a Republican could be elected to the Legislature or to Congress and a Third partyite could not, the Third partyite would support the Republican. And vice versa, as you yourself can deduce from a study of the tickets in the various counties. As to the United States Senatorship, McDowell was not specified. Our agreement was in case an anti-Democratic legislature should be chosen, our Republicans would vote for any man the Independents and Third partyites might select from their ranks.[85]

The next denial statement came from McDowell, who said that he did not receive the $15,000 from the Republican national committee, or any other Republican source, and that the letters were "specially prepared" by Ivins and published by the Democrats "for a campaign sensation to affect the result of the election." McDowell, like Baker, admitted the truth of the fusion agreement on congressional and legislative tickets, but said that he was not specified for the Senate and that he had not agreed to leave a "clear field" for the Harrison electoral ticket.[86]

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[81]A. G. Matthews to Houk, October 24, 1892. See also, Will D. Wright to Houk, October 24, 1892; J. T. Settle to Houk, October 26, 1892; and J. S. Riggs to Houk, October 25, 1892, Houk MSS.

[82]W. R. French to Houk, November 1, 1892, *ibid.*

[83]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* October 26, 1892.

[84]Knoxville *Journal,* October 24, 1892.

[85]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune,* November 2, 1892.

[86]*Ibid.,* October 26, 1892, quoting Nashville *Banner.*

The complete exposure of the Republican-Populist fusion agreement by the publication of the "Ivins-Hill" letters left unanswered two important questions. Did McDowell receive the $15,000 from the Republican national committee, or some Republican source? How did the Democrats obtain possession of the letters? The first of these questions has been answered satisfactorily by a letter to the writer from Nathan D. McDowell, son of John H. McDowell, in which he said:

I was closely associated with my father at that time and was aware that the Republicans contributed about $15,000 to help the Buchanan campaign. I understand that this money was distributed through my father—several thousand were given to Buchanan personally to defray the expenses of his campaign, the rest to pay the expenses of Populist speakers and their meetings. As to the promise of the United States Senatorship to J. H. McDowell in case of success this may have been hinted but I feel sure there was nothing definite.[87]

In justice to McDowell it should be said that his acceptance of this money was in no sense a "bribe," and that the fusion agreement he made with the Republicans was similar to the Republican-Populist combinations in all the Southern states.[88] It was more difficult to find a satisfactory answer to the second question. Ivins was denounced generally by the Republicans and Populists for the revelation of the deal, and was driven from his editorial position in Knoxville.[89] One Republican account said the Democrats bought the letters from the "traitor" Ivins, who prepared the correspondence especially for publication in coöperation with Democratic leaders.[90] The only explanation offered by the Democrats was that the Democratic Knoxville *Tribune* obtained the letters by a "stroke of newspaper enterprise."[91]

There is doubtless some truth in these explanations of the publication of the "Ivins-Hill" letters, but it appears that the real cause of the exposure of the fusion agreement was Republican factionalism. In

[87]May 14, 1931.

[88]In 1892 the Alabama political situation was very similar to the Republican-Populist combination in Tennessee. The Alliance leaders in Alabama failed to secure R. F. Kolb's nomination for governor by the Democrats. Kolb then announced as an Independent, or "Jeffersonian Democrat" candidate, as Buchanan did in Tennessee, and secured the endorsement of the Populists. The Alabama Republicans, unlike the Tennessee Republicans, did not nominate a candidate for governor, but endorsed Kolb's candidacy. In Alabama the Republicans and Populists also nominated fusion tickets for the legislature and Congress, but the entire fusion ticket was defeated by the Democrats. See Hicks, *op. cit.*, 249, 250.

[89]Knoxville *Journal*, October 26, 1892; Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, November 2, 1892. See also John B. Brownlow to O. P. Temple, November 13, 1892; Stewart L. Woodford to O. P. Temple, October 26, 1892, Temple MSS; J. T. Settle to John C. Houk, October 26, 1892; C. E. Harris to Houk, October 24, 1892; Houk to J. W. Baker, November 2, 1892, Houk MSS.

[90]Knoxville *Journal*, October 25, 26, 27, 29, 1892.

[91]Knoxville *Weekly Tribune*, October 26, 1892.

1892 the Republicans of Tennessee were divided into two rival factions. One faction was led by John C. Houk, congressman from the second district, and its members called themselves "native born white Republicans." The members of the other faction, led by H. Clay Evans, Chattanooga business man and former congressman from the third district, were called "carpetbaggers" by the Houk faction.[92] Factional rivalry was very bitter between these two groups of Tennessee Republicans, and both factions resorted to the usual methods to obtain political advantages. In 1888 Evans was elected to Congress, where he became a strong supporter of the Harrison administration and the dispenser of federal patronage in Tennessee. For this reason he was bitterly fought by Judge L. C. Houk as well as by his son and successor in Congress, John C. Houk; and for the same reason the Houk faction opposed Harrison's renomination in 1892 and favored the nomination of James G. Blaine. In 1890 Evans was defeated for reëlection to Congress by the Democratic candidate, H. C. Snodgrass. But in 1892 he again had ambitions to represent the third district in Congress, and John C. Houk and his friends became almost frantic in their efforts to prevent him from receiving the Republican nomination.[93] Houk and his friends knew that if Evans received the nomination his election would be practically certain since the Democratic majority for Snodgrass was small in 1890. Besides, a Populist candidate, Frank P. Dickey, was in the third district contest, and it was believed that he would take enough votes from the Democratic candidate, Snodgrass, to assure the election of Evans.[94] The latter was nominated, however, by the third district Republicans in spite of the opposition of the Houk faction, and seemed headed for Congress, where he would control again the federal patronage in Tennessee in case of Harrison's reëlection.

In addition to this attempt to prevent Evans' nomination for Congress by the third district Republicans, the Houk faction made other attempts in 1892 to reduce the influence of Evans in the Republican party of the state. In May Houk and his friends were successful in securing control of the Republican state executive committee.[95] And on June 27, Congressman Houk protested, in a telegram to President Harrison, against the appointment of Evans to the national Republican campaign committee.[96] Evans was not appointed, but he denied that he was an applicant for the position.[97] Evans, nevertheless, retained

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[92]John C. Houk to Senator Anthony Higgins (Delaware), September 23, 1892, Houk MSS.

[93]Houk to Thomas L. Cate, July 16, 1892; J. W. Baker to Houk, July 6, 1892; D. M. Coffman to Houk, July 16, 1892, *ibid.*

[94]R. E. Rhea to Houk, May 10, 1892; J. W. Baker to Houk, July 6, 1892, *ibid.*

[95]G. W. Hill to Houk, May 10, 1892; G. W. Hill to Houk, May 20, 1892, *ibid.*

[96]Houk to President Harrison, June 27, 1892, *ibid.*

[97]H. Clay Evans to C. E. Harris, July 2, 1892; Houk to George W. Winstead, July 8, 1892, *ibid.*

his influence with the Harrison administration, and was charged by Congressman Houk with using this influence among his "northern friends" in defeating the efforts of the state committee to obtain financial assistance from the national committee for the Tennessee campaign.[98] Houk was bitter toward Evans and his northern Republican friends, who, he said, knew nothing about "Southern politics," and believed that it was not worth while to spend money trying to break the Solid South. He was likewise bitter toward the national committee for its failure to supply the needed money for the Tennessee campaign.[99] Moreover, Houk knew that the $15,000 which McDowell had received from the national committee was being used partially to keep the Populist candidate, Frank P. Dickey, in the third district race, and thus draw votes from Snodgrass, the Democratic candidate and cause the election of Evans.

The latter prospect did not please the second district Republican leader. Besides, Populist and Independent candidates for the legislature had entered the contest in Republican counties of the second district. This was a violation of the Republican-Populist fusion agreement, and Houk protested to McDowell, who promised to withdraw the Populist candidates. When he learned that McDowell was unwilling, or unable, to withdraw the candidates, Houk threatened "to open a vigorous attack from the newspapers and from the stump" against the People's party.[100] Then came the "Ivins-Hill" exposure of the fusion agreement. Congressman Houk denied any knowledge of the letters although both Ivins and Hill were his close Republican associates. The Evans faction charged openly that the exposure of McDowell's "sell-out" was planned by Houk, Ivins, and Hill in order to prevent the third district Populist candidate, Dickey, from drawing votes away from Evans' democratic opponent for Congress. In fact, this was the general consensus of Republican opinion throughout the state, as one of Houk's Republican friends in West Tennessee informed him in a letter in which he quoted another Republican as saying: "The Judas is in our own camps. John Houk knew all about this and he is at the bottom."[101] Houk now placed the blame on Ivins, and denounced him as a "thief" and "traitor" to the Republican party. Ivins resented such accusations, and declared in a statement to the Chattanooga *Times:*

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[98]Houk to George W. Winstead, July 8, 1892, *ibid.*

[99]Houk to Senator Higgins, September 23, 1892, *ibid.* See also James S. Clarkson to Houk, September 3, 1892; William O. Bradley to Houk, October 7, 9, 22, 1892; Houk to Lewis T. Baxter, October 15, 1892, *ibid.*

[100]William O. Bradley to Houk, October 15, 1892; Houk to J. W. Baker, October 1, 1892, *ibid.* See also J. H. McDowell to Houk, October 18, 1892; William Allen to Houk, October 10, 1892; I. A. Dail to Houk, October 23, 1892; J. W. Baker to Houk, September 24, 1892, *ibid.*

[101]A. G. Matthews to Houk, October 24, 1892, *ibid.*

There was never any doubt as to the purpose of writing those letters. There was a distinct understanding. I was with those fellows [Houk and Hill] all along the line. The express purpose of the publication was to injure H. Clay Evans in the race for Congress in the third district, and subordinate him in public opinion, the whole aim being to render his influence a nullity.

The letters were written with a full realization of the effect they would produce. They were written after George Hill and John Houk and myself had frequently consulted. The effort was to suppress Evans in Tennessee and break down whatever influence he might have in the party at home and abroad.[102]

The hopes of Houk and his friends were realized, because Evans was defeated. However, Dickey received enough votes to reduce the small majority of Snodgrass in 1890 to a small plurality. The Houk faction did not grieve over the defeat of Evans. One of Houk's friends wrote him after the election in the following terms: "Wonder how brother Evans in the 3rd feels about the situation. He is strictly in the 'Soup.' "[103]

The Republican-Populist fusion agreement was a complete failure. The Bourbon Democrats again triumphed in Tennessee. Turney received 126,348 votes, while Winstead received 100,577 and Buchanan, 29,918. Thus the combined vote of Winstead and Buchanan was 4,145 more than the total vote of Turney. Truly the Tennessee Democracy had traveled far from its great majorities in former years. All of the Democratic congressmen were reëlected except Rice A. Pierce, the Alliance congressman from the ninth district. Pierce, like Buchanan, was read out of the Democratic party, and made the race as an Independent candidate. He was defeated, however, by the regular Democratic candidate, James C. McDearmon. The Republican-Populist fusion came nearest to success in the eighth district, where the Democratic candidate, B. A. Enloe, was almost defeated. The fusion candidates in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh districts were easily defeated by their Democratic opponents. The Republican-Populist attempt to control the legislature failed, and the usual Democratic majority was elected.[104]

With the election of Peter Turney, the Bourbon Democrats returned to power in Tennessee. The Farmers' Alliance was hopelessly disrupted by the People's party and lost its control of the Democratic organization which it had achieved in 1890. But the victory of the Bourbons was won at the cost of party harmony, because the Tennessee Democracy was seriously weakened. The vote for Buchanan represented the alienated element of the Democratic party, the great majority of whom were former alliancemen. Many of the latter had joined the Populists; others,

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[102]Chattanooga *Times*, November 6, 1892.
[103]James Jeffreys to Houk, November, 1892, Houk MSS.
[104]Election results from Secretary of State's office, Nashville, Tennessee.

who refused to join the new party, called themselves "Independents." These disaffected elements continued to oppose the Bourbons, with the result that Democratic control of the state was for a time endangered. Although the People's party declined rapidly after 1892, Democratic harmony was not restored until the economic depression had lifted and the Bourbons had adopted a more conciliatory policy toward the aggrieved agrarian and labor elements of society.

LETTERS FROM JOHN RHEA TO THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JAMES MADISON

Edited by James A. Padgett

Any detailed review of the career of John Rhea as an introduction to the letters printed below would be inappropriate and unnecessary in view of the fact that a previous number of these *Publications* included an excellent article on the life of this notable Tennessean from the pen of Professor Marguerite B. Hamer.[1] It will be sufficient, therefore, to indicate merely the general outlines of his public activity.

John Rhea, the eldest of eight children of Joseph Rhea, a descendant of the house of Campbell, and Elizabeth McIlwaine Rhea, was born in Ireland in 1753. His father, a Presbyterian clergyman, migrated with his family to America in 1769, and after living for several years in Pennsylvania and Maryland, moved to what is now Tennessee in 1778. John Rhea was educated at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), and was a soldier in the Patriot army in the Revolution, participating in the battle of King's Mountain. During the state of Franklin period he supported the North Carolina faction against John Sevier and served as clerk of the court of Sullivan county under North Carolina. In 1789 he was elected to membership in the North Carolina legislature and in the convention which ratified the United States constitution. He was also admitted to the bar in 1789, and in 1796 was appointed attorney general for Greene county by William Blount, governor of the Southwest Territory. In that same year he assisted in drafting the first constitution of the state of Tennessee, and then served in the first two sessions of the state legislature.

With the exception of the period of one Congress, 1815-1817, he sat in the United States House of Representatives from 1803 to 1823 and assiduously supported the principles of Thomas Jefferson. He fought against the recharter of the Bank of the United States in 1811; favored agriculture and the agrarian class against the commercial interests; advocated a strict interpretation of the constitution; and fought against "consolidated" government. Although an expansionist at the time of the War of 1812 and an advocate of the annexation of Canada, he was also an ardent advocate of peace, both at home and abroad, and desired the destruction of all naval armaments. He was active in Indian media-

[1]M. B. Hamer, "John Rhea of Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* No. 4 (1932), 34-44. See also M. B. Hamer, "John Rhea," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV (New York, 1935), 524; *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), 1455.

tion and was one of three federal commissioners who arranged a very advantageous treaty with the Choctaws in 1816. Although opposed to slavery, he had only sympathy for the problems of the slave states. He was very religious and Puritanical in some of his beliefs, even opposing the delivery of mail on the Sabbath when he was chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. In 1823 he retired to his farm near Greeneville, Tennessee, and lived on the large fortune he had accumulated. He died on May 27, 1832, and was interred in the Blountville cemetery. His memory is perpetuated in the names of Rhea county and Rheatown in Tennessee.

This collection of letters to Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, written at a time when a great republic was being formed, should be of special interest to relatives and friends of the families concerned, to the people of Tennessee and to those interested in history and politics. Rhea's extensive correspondence with Andrew Jackson has been omitted because most of the important letters have been printed in J. S. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1926-1935), and the famous Rhea letter episode in connection with Jackson's Seminole campaign reviewed recently in an article in the *Journal of Southern History*.[2]

To Thomas Jefferson[3]

Washington 20 Feb^{y}. 1809

Dear Sir

Please to accept the inclosed copy of a letter[4] to my friends in Tennessee— as an evidence of the sincere respect and unchanging esteem which I entertain for you— and may you be blessed with that happiness which irradiates the mind with perpetual Splendor.

John Rhea

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[2]Richard R. Stenberg, "Jackson's 'Rhea' Letter Hoax," *Journal of Southern History*, II (November, 1936), 480-96.

[3]Jefferson Papers (Library of Congress).

[4]This letter to his constituents, dated Washington, February 13, 1809, is in the main a eulogistic review of the Jefferson administrations. Described in some detail are the government's policies in regard to taxation, public debt, commerce, and neutrality. Near the close is the statement: "That the United States may remain in peace, and not be involved in the dreadful avenging war in Europe, is supremely desirable; but if peace cannot be preserved without a sacrifice of the honor, rights and independence of the United States, that sacrifice never will be made. . . ."

To Thomas Jefferson[5]

Washington 20 December [should be February] 1809

Sir—

During this session of Congress a law has been made authorising the payment of certain pensions[6] by the Secretary of War at the City of Washington. On enquiry I understand that no persons hath, by the Secretary, at War been appointed to perform the duties assigned by that Law— there may be an impropriety in making application to you in this case— however as there are some poor old men who expect to receive their pensions or arrearases [*sic.*] of pension in virtue of that Law, and as that probably cannot be, without the interposition of the President of the United States— the case is therefore submitted to you—

Please accept the assurances of my most sincere Esteem

I am Sir Your Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

To James Madison[7]

Washington May 4th 1810

Sir,

Please to excuse me for troubling you with a copy of a letter[8] sent to my constituents— and accept the same as Evidence of the suppoort and Esteem of y^{r} Servant John Rhea of Tennessee

To James Madison[9]

Sullivan Court House 16th August 1815

Sir,

The election in the State of Tennessee for Representatives to Congress is over, I am not Elected— a majority of my late Constituents have thought proper to change their Representative—[10] a number of my fellow citizens,

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[5]Jefferson Papers.

[6]This law, passed on January 7, 1809, provided the details for the payment of pensions to a long list of men designated in an act of April 25, 1808. *United States Statutes at Large,* II, 491-8, 505-6.

[7]Madison Papers (Library of Congress).

[8]In this circular letter of April 20, 1810, he discussed the growing tension between the United States and Great Britain and the economic independence of America. Another circular letter issued on July 13, 1813, and mailed to Madison on August 5, reviewed the history of the causes and beginning of the War of 1812. A circular letter of February 20, 1815, discussed the terms of the peace with England and other matters, and another of May 8, 1820, was devoted to remarks on agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing problems of the United States. *Ibid.,* Printed Material, LXXIX, folios.

[9]Madison Papers.

[10]Samuel Powell of Rogersville, who took the place of John Rhea in Congress, established the first law school in the state, and served on the Tennessee circuit and supreme courts. *Biographical Directory of Congress,* 1427.

have requested me to permit my name to be offered, to the next General assembly of this state, for a Senator of the United States to this I have consented, but the Event is uncertain, there will probably be several candidates— to be a member of the next Congress, would for several reasons, be very gratifying to me, but you know my attachments, to you I need not write of them. the above information, I consider it my duty to write to you who have long known me.

With Sentiments of Sincere Esteem I have the honor to be with great respect your ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

To James Madison[11]

Sullivan Court House Tennessee

24th November 1815

Sir,

An Event by me anticipated in a conversation when I had the pleasure of being with you has taken place, and I no longer have a seat in the Legislature of the United States. This is regretted by me, not as it respects me particularly, but to contribute my little aid in the adoption of means which may be deemed necessary to promote the public good and welfare of our beloved country is denyed to me. to have been present and aiding in winding up the War System and fixing a peace Establishment, to me would have been gratifying. to take the mind off from the contemplation of Subjects and objects which it has been long habituated to contemplate is not Easy, and to be prevented from pursueing a course that the mind delighted in is unpleasant. That the will of the majority shall rule is a principle of our Government and to submit to that rule is an incumbent duty. To maintain the Independence of the United States was the object to which my political course, during the time I was a member of Congress, was directed, that course is well known to you and I hope has your approbation, and now that hope when that course is stoped, is to me matter of great consolation. not having it in my power to go and see you as heretofore, I trust you will Excuse my writting to you. I would be near you if I could. Wishing you good health and every degree of happiness, I have the honor to be with Sentiments of the highest Esteem

Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t}— John Rhea

To James Madison[12]

Washington 30th March 1816

Sir,

The twentieth day of next month by a joint resolution of both Houses is appointed for Congress to adjourn— Since the begining of this session I have frequently enquired respecting you, and the session approaching to its

[11]Madison Papers.
[12]*Ibid.*

end I cannot avoid troubling you with this letter, the only object of which is to request of you to write to me and let me know how you and your lady are The recollection of the times I have had the pleasure of being with you in this City comes to my mind with consoling pleasure, but they will not return. three great subjects have been under consideration this Session of Congress— Internal improvements Expatriation — and subject of the Spanish patriots. The people of the United States are at last in peace except the petty Seminole war, and happier than any other people on Earth— having outlived two wars with Great Brittain, I cannot help believing that our best policy is to make the happiness and peace of the people of these United States the first and great object. No people ever rose sooner from the effects of War than we have done, in the Course of a few years, our debt will be diminished. having experienced the distress arising from a scarcity of money in time of the late war, I am very unwilling to engage in any thing that may in the most remote manner lead to war, until our debt is greatly diminished— high feelings are entertained for the patriots of Spanish America. I hope and trust that the Spanish patriots will be successful and that their efforts will produce to them complete independence, I have no hesitation in declaring that all my feelings are with my fellow citizens of this United States. The happiness peace and prosperity of the people of the United States in the first instance— and secondly they of that Nation which is most worthy—. Peace prosperity and happiness are now Embracing our happy Country. to introduce an opposite state of things, in that great and good cause, directly affecting ourselves, would in my humble opinion be unsafe, impolitic and unwise—. To the arguments in support of internal improvements, that is of the power of Congres to provide for them, I have attended with a degree of Surprise— the tenth article of the Amendments to the Constitution appears to fix an insuperable bar to such attempts untill power be delegated by an amendment to the Constitution The Constitution of the United States provides for augmentation of population and Enlargement of territory, but does not appear to sanction a diminution of Either — the constitution hinders not, nor does it prohibit any citizen to voluntarily depart and abandon it— there appears but little if any reason to authorize a law of Expatriation Even if the enacting of such law was Expressly sanctioned — but I had entered on subjects to which I had little intention to approach when I began this letter— And I will return to the first subject and again request you to write me so that I may have the pleasure of knowing that you and M^rs^ Madison are in possession of good health— You can not be happier than I wish you to be— I have the honor to be with the most sincere esteem

Your Ob^t^ Serv^t^

John Rhea

To James Madison[13]

Sullivan Court House 30^th^ May 1816

Sir,

By the National Intelligencer of the Eleventh instant I have observed that you have been pleased to appoint Jenkins Whitesides, John Rhea and

[13] *Ibid.*

James Tremble [Trimble] Commissioners to supreintend, at Nashville, subscriptions towards constituting the Capital of the Bank of the United States.[14]

Being about to proceed to Nashville in pursuance of the appointment you have honored me with, I request you to receive my grateful acknowledgment for the same, and assurance that the trust you have been pleased to repose in me will be performed as far as my knowledge and abilities will enable.— With fervant wishes for your health and happiness— I have the honor to be with sincere esteem & regards— Your Obed[t] Serv[t]

John Rhea

To James Madison[15]

Nashville 1 July 1816

Dear Sir,

I have here had the honor of receiving your letter of the first of last month, it having been sent on—pursuant to your directions. Previous to setting out from Blountville for Nashville, I addressed a letter to you stating that having seen a publication in the Nati— Intel—[16] in which my name as a commissioner to superintend subscriptions to the Bank of the United States was mentioned, I was about to set out for this place— that letter I hope you have received. It was then my opinion that a letter of information would be directed by the Treasury Dept to the Commissioners here— I have had no other information on that subject, except what appeared in the Nat Intel— and that which you have been pleased to write to me. This day a book has been opened by the Commissioners to take subsrip's

Believing you would, as usual, being involved in a multiplicity of business, I little expected you would have wrote in answer to my letter 24[th] of November last— but you have written and I have read your letter with most grateful sensations

From the war Dept. I have there received a communication informing that you have selected General Coffee,[17] M[r] M[c]Kee[18] and me, to be Commissioners to inquire into and to decide definitely upon claims set up by the Choctaw Nation "to a part of the lands supposed to have been ceded to the United States by the treaty concluded with the Creek Indians at Fort Jackson in the year 1814"— and contained instructions relative to that subject. To the business with the Choctaw tribe of Indians I hope to be able to attend — but the letter from the War Dep[t] not having arrived at Blountville, and not expecting to proceed further than Nashville, I left Blountville only to come here— and a stage in which the mail is carried having commenced running from Knoxville to Nashville, I came here in the stage. I may however, after

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[14]The second United States Bank, chartered by Congress in 1816.

[15]Madison Papers.

[16]The *National Intelligencer,* printed in Washington, was one of the leading papers of the country.

[17]General John Coffee, a great friend of Jackson, who fought with him in the Southwest, 1812-15.

[18]Colonel John McKee, a noted Indian conciliator, and for six years congressman from Alabama. *Biographical Directory of Congress,* 1265.

the business of the Bank is done here, have time to return to East Tennessee and get my horse and some other things before my attendance at the Choctaws be necessary. The letter from the War Dep[t] bears date on the twentieth day of May last, and had time to have been received at Blountville, if it had not been somehow delayed.

Your instructions respecting the national policy that ought to govern transactions with our savage Neighbors, and the instructions contained in the letter from the War Department, relative to the proposed negotiation with the Choctaw tribe, will be carefully and dilligently attended to by me, provided it be in my power to be at the place and I trust it will— I am the more excited to do the duty assigned to me, with the Choctaw tribe being assured that my being selected to that duty proceeded from your friendship. Every thing in my power will be done to carry your views of the subject into effect. I have here seen and conversed with Gen[l] Jackson and Gen[l] Coffee.

It is not pleasant to me but it might be improper to refrain to write to you, that the late treaty made at the City of Washington with the chiefs of the Cherokee tribe of Indians, whereby a large tract of Country included within the lines of the lands ceded to the United States by the treaty made with the Creeks at Fort Jackson, is surrended or given to the Cherokees, is not well received by any person I have heard speaking of it. That treaty appears to be generally displeasing in Tennessee, but I have the pleasure to observe that I have heard not one speaking disrespectfully of you on that subject— Many people are said to have settled on the lands. A settlement of Citizens of the United States on the lands ceded by the Creeks subsequent to the tready made with them at Fort Jackson, would have united the settlements of Tennessee with those of and near Mobile— would have placed the Chickasaws and Choctaws on one side and Cherokees and Creeks on the other; and in case of a future war on the Southern or Floridan frontier would have afforded a convenient passage for troops from Tennessee to the place of war. It would have deprived the Northern Indians, if hostile, of communicating with the Cherokees and Creeks, and the friendly Chickasaws would have prevented the approach of hostile Northern Indians to the Choctaws. The lands are said to be of great value. There is a report here that the Cherokees and Creeks have agreed to have these lands in common, but whether certainly so I know not, if so you will hear it. The blood of Tennessee was poured out in subduing the hostile Creeks, and Citizens of Tennessee are not content that lands ceded by the Creeks in consequence of that war are given to the Cherokees. Taking these considerations into view, and well knowing your desire to promote the happiness and peace of Tennessee, I hope that you will direct, if you think proper so to do, such measures as will cause or bring about a revision of that treaty with the Cherokees. Excited by a pure and frindly motive I have taken the liberty to write of these things to you, and I trust that you will consider and believe that what I have written hath proceeded from the sincere esteem and respect I have for you. I am the more influenced to write to you of these things because under your administration, the United States have obtained a grand National Character, having victoriously had a second war with Great Brittain, and are now crowned with glory and honor and blessed with peace. The States generally are at rest and

quiet— Tennessee desires to be at rest, and to be secure from troublesome Neighbors, who have for many years past afflicted and murdered the Citizens. The people of Tennessee have firmly and decidedly supported and maintained your administration, and now when the period of that administration is approaching to an end, I am not willing that they should have any reason to suppose that their interests have been passed over or that any diminution of their esteem and veneration for that administration Shall be. at your farm which you were about to visit you probably will receive this letter; there and at every other place I sincerely wish to you the realization of every happiness. I have the honor to be with true esteem and respect Your Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

To James Madison[19]

Nashville 14th July 1816

Dear Sir,

This morning I received a letter from John McKee esq^{e}. agent &c— Informed me that he has received a letter from the United States Factor of that Agency, informing him that he, (the Factor) will not be able to furnish goods necessary for the treaty untill he sends to New Orleans to procure them and that Bread stuff cannot be procured until the New Crops are fit for use—

Some information secured in a former letter from M^{r} McKee the agent— I expected the time for holding said treaty with the Choctaws would not be far distant— and therefore I sent for my horse and some other things, to East Tennessee— and I expect him here in a few days— and I would soon afterwards have been ready to have gone on to the Choctaw agency

About the first instant I addressed a letter to you from this place, which I hope will have come to you. I am inclined to write this—as well that you may know what the agent M^{r} McKee has written to me— as that I may have the pleasure to assure you of my readiness to attend to the business of the intended treaty or negotiation with the Choctaw tribe of Indians— that you have been pleased to confide to me, as soon as the business of subscriptions for the National Bank is here finished. I have this day written to the agent M^{r} McKee— There are not yet subscribed here, one hundred shares for the National Bank— I have the honor to be with most sincere respect — Esteem

Your Obed^{t} Serv^{t} John Rhea

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[19]Madison Papers.

To James Madison[20]

At the house of Coll George Colbert[21] in the Chickasaw Nation—
September 6th 1816

Sir,

Understanding that a number of the principal chiefs of the Choctaw Nation were to be present at the Negotiation about to be held at this place between the Commissioners of United States, and chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation of Indians, and induced to believe that my presence here might be useful towards the objects you have in mind in the intended negotiation with the Choctaw Nation. I left Nashville and came here on last Tuesday, and I hope my attending the Negotiation here will have your approbation—

Major General Jackson and General Merriwether[22] had arrived here some days before me— About forty (on my coming here I understood about fifty) chiefs of the Choctaws with Mess Pechlynn and Brashear,[23] had previously come here— and this day between thirty and forty principal men and chiefs (as I understand) of the Cherokees, have arrived. The Negotiations here is expected to begin tomorrow. A spirit of comity and friendship prevails and exists— I trust the Negotiation here, and that about to be with the Choctaws, will eventuate pursuant to your views for promoting the happiness and prosperity of the United States, and the peace and quiet of the respective tribes of Indians

On the subject of the late treaty with the Cherokees I will refrain from writing, having in my last letter to you written at length in relation thereto. I trust the negotiation here will terminate so, that a complete contenuity of settlements of Citizens of the United States will be from Tennessee to Mobile, for that only in my opinion, can give general satisfaction. Mr McKee appointed the fifteenth of next month to begin the Negotiation with the Choctaws at the Factory in that Nation; to which place I will proceed from this. After the business of the National Bank was finished at Nashville, I continued there untill my departure for this place. With Every sentiment of sincere Esteem & regard I have the honor to be your Obt Servt

John Rhea

To James Madison[24]

Chickasaw Agency
24th September 1816

Dr Sir,

I have the pleasure to write to you that a treaty has been made, by the Commissioners on behalf of the United States and chiefs, of the Cherokee

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] A famed Chickasaw chief, who, with his brothers, Levi and William, operated a ferry near Muscle Shoals.

[22] David Meriwether, a noted Indian negotiator, and member of Congress from Georgia.

[23] John Pichlynn and Turner Brasher served as interpreters in the Choctaw negotiations.

[24] Madison Papers.

tribe of Indians, attended the council in the Chickasaw Nation. By that treaty is ceded to the United States the right and claim of the Cherokees to lands lying within the lines mentioned in the treaty of Fort Jackson, excepting a only small part joining on Tennessee River on the East. The treaty however remains to be approved by the Cherokee Chiefs & Warriors, who are to meet Gen[l] Jackson, Gen Meriwether & M[r] Franklin[25] at Turkey town[26] on the twenty eighth of this month, for which place the Commiss[rs] set out on last Saturday morning from the Council House, namely George Colberts in the Chickasaw Nation— The Commissioners appeared to have no doubt of the treaty being approved— if the Cherokee Chiefs do not or will not attend, the treaty as to the Cherokee Nation stands confirmed—

On last Friday was concluded a treaty by the Commissioners of the United States and chiefs principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw Nation, by which treaty, some reservations excepted, is ceded to the United States, the right & claim of the Chickasaw nation to all the lands by them claimed on the north side of Tennessee river, and also of and to all the lands by them claimed East of a line beginning at the mouth of the Caney Creek[27] on South side of Tennessee river— then up said creek and one of its branches thence to Gain's road, with it to the Cotton Gin post, thence down the west bank of the Tombigby river to the Choctaw boundary, with some small reservations of land, and stipulation for payments for improvements on either side Tennessee river. Expecting that you will soon be officially advised of the particulars of the said two treaties, I will abstain from writing more respecting them. By these two treaties a vast tract of country is disincumbered and free from Indian claim and will soon be covered with citizens of the United States from the southern boundary of Tennessee State to Mobile—and the Cherokees and Creeks are forever separated from the Chickasaws, good hopes are entertained that the issue of the intended negotiation with the Choctaw tribe will be favorable, and then that tribe will also be completely seperated from Cherokees & Creeks.

The treaties herein above mentioned, I hope will have your approbation— in my humble opinion they will greatly conduce to the benefit strength and prosperity of the United States, and to the security peace and quiet of the white people.

During the negotiation with the Cherokee Chiefs, and with the Chickasaw Chiefs, harmony and friendship mutually prevailed, they were not hastened, time for deliberation, according to their respective wishes was given— the business was amicably ended— the territory— freed from Indian claim is of great value.

You know my opinion of Gen[l] Jackson as a Military man, and I cannot avoid observing that in conducting a negotiation he appears to equal advantage— deliberate & prudent and at the same time firm & decisive. Many difficulties have been to be surmounted before the said two treaties could be effected—

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[25]Jesse Franklin, a prominent North Carolinian.
[26]In Etowah county, Alabama, near the eastern border of the state.
[27]A small stream entering the Tennessee River in Colbert county, Alabama.

Mr John McKee agent for the Choctaws came to Chickasaw council House previous to the conclusion of the treaty with the Chickasaws— He is now here, and we will go on together to the Choctaw factory. Mr Thos. H. Williams[28] is also here, he goes on as secretary

I have the honor to be with the highest esteem & respect

Your Obedt Servt

John Rhea

To James Madison[29]

Choctaw Trading House 25 Octob 1816.

Sir,

I have the pleaseure to inform you that yesterday a treaty was made and concluded with the Choctaw nation of Indians; by it that nation has ceded to the United States all their claim to lands lying east of a bounday [boundary] begining at the mouth of Oohtibbuha (a large creek running into the Tombigby River on the West) the Chickasaw boundary, and turning thence down the Tombigby River untill it intersects the northern boundary of a cession made to the United States by the Choctaws at Mount Dexter on the sixteenth of November eighteen hundred and five— in consideration whereof the treaty provides that six thousand dollars be annually paid for twenty years to the Choctaw nation—and then thousand dollars in merchandize— immediately after executing the treaty— all which I trust will meet your approbation— I have the honor to be with

sincere esteem and consideration

Your Obt Servt

John Rhea

The Commissioners will be detained here some few days adjusting matters incidental to their mission—

To James Madison[30]

Blountville Sullivan C. H. 31st Dec—1816

Dear Sir,

I had the pleasure of addressing to you a letter dated at the United States Factory in the Choctaw Nation— informing that a treaty was concluded by the Commissioners of the U S—with the chiefs of that Indian tribe— I hope that letter was received— the treaty was forwarded to the War office from Nashville by mail— and I am very much gratified to know, by a letter from that office, that the treaty was received and that it meets your approbation. As in a former letter dated at Nashville, so in this I request you to accept my gratifull acknowledgement, for having appointed me a Commis-

[28]Williams represented Mississippi in the United States Senate from 1817 to 1829, and then moved to Tennessee.

[29]Madison Papers.

[30]*Ibid.*

sioner to the Choctaw nation for the purpose of making a treaty with them. of their friendship to the United S— & progress to civilization more might be written than merely alluding thereto— I would have written to you prevous to this date, but had some inclination to be in the City early next month— some unavoidable things, and inclement weather have hindered— I flatter myself however that, unless hindered, I will have the pleasure of seeing you again this winter. I have frequently been asked whether any danger of serious difficulties with any European powers—and always answered, none in my opinion— Your message to Congress at commencement of the present session I have with great satisfaction read, and observed that you mention that the U. States are at peace with the Civilized world. The United States are indeed a favored nation— With every wish for your happiness I have the honor to be Your Ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

To James Madison[31]

Blountville (Sullivan C^{y})

14 Jan^{y} 1817—

Dear Sir,

I had the honor of writing to you some days past, and at that time did expect that this day I would have been a considerable distance from this place on the way to the City of Washington— but the stage disappointed me, hindered, probably, by bad weather — and since then the days and nights have been very cold here— I am very anxious to have the pleasure of seeing you before the third of next March, and will be in the City if I can— information is here that the treaties lately concluded with the Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes of Indians are ratified— this is indeed pleasing information to me— & the treaty made with the Cherokees, if also ratified, will be additional cause of satisfaction— The advantages resulting from these treaties to the U States need not by me be enumerated— to you— The benefits to the western States and territories arising from them are incalculable— permit me to write to you; that among the many grand events of your administration— the opening of so extensive a Country, as that which extends from the settlements of Tennessee to the Mobile Country, to a white population, is not among the least— It yet remains, that a compromise, by some mode, be made with the Cherokee tribe of Indians, whereby the claim of that tribe to lands in Tennessee may be done away— that I hope in due time will also be accomplished— if that claim was removed the population of Tennessee would greatly increase— with the most sincere esteem & regard I have the honor to be Your ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

[31] *Ibid.*

To James Madison[32]

Blountville, Sullivan C^{y} 16 Jan^{y} 1817

Dear Sir,

I may be prevented by bad weather, or some thing else from seeing you before you retire from office— under this apprehension, I cannot avoid, and it affords me great pleasure, again to express to you my high sense of gratitude, for the two appointments you honored me with in the time of last Summer— my fellow citizens of the district of Washington had thought proper not to elect me a representative to Congress— my name had been offered in the General Assembly of this State that I might be elected a Senator, but that also failed— I found myself thrown down and depressed, but complaining not remained silent remembering what you on a great occasion said to me, viz, *"put your Enemies in the wrong"*— from that depression you raised me, you gave to me two honorable appointments, and in that, to me, honorable manner, again sent the name of John Rhea among my fellow citizens of the United States. Your friendship and kindness to me, I will always remember, and it would augur want of support to you and duty to myself, not to write you in the manner I have done—

You will after having for Eight years presided over the United States part of that time in a furious war with the most powerful nation, a war that appeared to be reserved for your administration to conduct on the part of the United States, and that required the highest energy of mind to manage— retire from office the United States being in peace with the World, but you take with you the affections of your friends— I will not yet deny myself the hope of seeing you— I have the honor to be your very ob^{t} serv^{t}

John Rhea

Very cold freezing time here

To James Madison[33]

Washington 23^{d} April 1818

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the sixth instant, and would have written sooner but expected that I might have the pleasure of visiting you on my way to Tennessee— to know that M^{rs} Madison and yourself retains good health affords to me great gratification and I hope it will be continued to you. Not being heretofore in the habit of leaving this City immediately at the adjournment of Congress, as usual I have continued here, having also some business to do for some of my fellow citizens who sent me here— I am gratefull to you for your invitation— but having to travel in the Stage I fear that I cannot stop this time. to your lady and yourself I wish the highest happiness that friendship can desire for you— inclosed herewith is a copy of my circular latter it contains little if anything new to you— with the most sincere regard— and esteem Your ob^{t} Serv^{t}

John Rhea

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[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*

To James Madison[34]

Washington 17th May 1820—

Sir / I did anxiously desire to have visited you as I passed through on my way home, and had anticipated the pleasure of seeing Mrs Madison and yourself— but some business in Tennessee requires my attention as soon as possible. The late has been a long session of Congress, and there has been some troublesome business— inclosed is a copy of a speech and of a circular letter,[35] which please to accept. In the circular I have stated some opinions relative to Agriculture Commerce and Manufacture— which I trust will have your approbation. I am with sincere Esteem Your Obt Servt

John Rhea

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[34] *Ibid.*

[35] On March 13, 1821, Rhea sent still another circular letter, dated March 5, to Madison, in which he spoke of the advantages to be derived from the purchase of Florida, commented on the agricultural development and general economic prosperity of the United States, and in conclusion announced his candidacy for reëlection. *Ibid.*, Printed Material, LXXIX. In a letter to Andrew Jackson, June 13, 1823, he stated that he had "publicly declined being a Candidate at the next election," commenting that he did not need to mention the reasons for that decision. Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited *By*

D. C. Corbitt *and* Roberta Corbitt*

(Continued from East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 9)

II — 1786

[Translation]

Benjamin Hawkins to McGillivray, January 11, 1786[1]

No. 3.

Translation

Seneca January 11, 1786.=My dear Sir: I wrote to you a few days ago of the progress of the Commissioners in the treaties with the Southern Indians: we have since entered into conventions with the Chickasaw Nations which are the most prudent and the best that I have seen among the Indians, and we must report what happened at the congress. I do not know what measures we may finally take with Your Nation. When I was in Galphinton I saw a letter from a Half-Breed of the Creek or Talapuche Nation, who was in the old Village of Ogeechee, who confesses to the attempt to assassinate Captain Carr, admitting the theft of two Horses belonging to the Galphins,[2] which at the time were known to belong to those inhabitants.

I also have authentic reports of the hostile intentions of some of your Nation who went to one of our settlements on the falls of the Cumberland, and also of a robbery committed by some of them last June in the settlement of Marcius in the Peowell [Powell's] Valley, after having stolen fifty Horses from the Colonel.

It gives me great pain to write you these reports persuaded as I am that it will hurt your sensibility very much, but it is my duty to do so in order that the Chiefs of that Nation may see that justice is done, and discover and punish such villainous proceedings. The too frequent repetition of injuries never fail to exasperate the most patient, and however moderate the United States

*For the editors' "introduction" see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12.

[1]Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A. G. I., P. C.), legajo 2352. See also M. B. Pound, "Benjamin Hawkins, Indian Agent," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XIII (1929), 392-409.

[2]The elder George Galphin had a store in South Carolina below Augusta before the Revolution. Debts due him figured in the Indian treaty of 1773. His sons, George and John, negotiated the treaty of Galphinton in 1785.

may be, and however much they may want to prevent revenge, it is absolutely necessary and just that measures be adopted to preserve the lives and property of their Citizens.

In the last War the United States received injuries from the Indians in all parts without having given reasons for them, and when Peace was made with Great Britain, instead of turning against them and taking revenge, with unequaled humanity and liberality, they sent Commissioners with full powers to make Peace with the Indians, receiving them under their favor and protection and removing as far as possible the causes for future contentions and disputes.

The Sachems and Warriors of the six Nations, the Wyandottes, Delawares, Chippewas, Ottawas, Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws embraced with joy and gladness the terms of Peace offered by the United States: only the Creeks, or Talapuches, seem blind to their own interests, and desirous even of exciting new disturbances. To similar conduct in private life there should be applied the following maxim: When a man injures you, be careful in trusting him, and his arrogance and insanity should never permit him to be your friend. . . .

Benjamin Hawkins

Mr. Alexander McGillivray Esquire one of the Chiefs of the Talapuche Nation

Miró

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GÁLVEZ, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 20, 1786[3]

No. 304

Confidential

My dear Sir: Under date of the 18th of this month the Commandant of Natchez, Don Carlos de Gran-Pre, reports to me that a brother of Mr. William Davenport has arrived there proceeding from the Indian Nations, saying that he comes accompanying a Resident of Natchez, and to see his sister-in-law, whom his brother left there, because she could not make the journey being pregnant; Don Carlos de Gran-pre having availed himself of a trustworthy person, to sound out this Boy, a youth of 14 years, he reported him as having said that Davenport, his brother, had received a letter from General Clark, which the youth himself said he had read, from the Chickasaw Nation where he is detained, in which he [Clark] wrote him [Davenport] that he was preparing to go down and take possession of the District and Fort of Natchez, and that he would leave the Falls on the Ohio the 15th of next May with a large number of people of all classes and professions.

This report I consider entirely false, except that it might happen that many families should come down, deceived by the current rumors that the boundaries have been settled amicably and that according to them the District of Natchez is given to the Americans, as Davenport wrote to his Wife in the

[3]A. G. I., P. C., 4. *Cf. infra*, Gálvez to Miró, May 20, 1786.

Month of January under cover to Bouligny, which was read by the latter, or because they are molested by the Indians on the Ohio, in which case I find myself in a difficult situation, for (as I have represented to Your Excellency and, by your Order, to the Court, which has not answered me) it is impossible to make them return, because the *Chatto* boats in which they come cannot navigate against the current; and moreover, the more numerous the families, the more there is to fear that we shall be sheltering more enemies in our bosom by allowing it, which I report to Your Excellency in order that you may deign to dictate to me the dispositions by which I should govern my actions in this case.

In regard to the sojourn of the said Davenport among the Chickasaws I have written a letter, a copy of which I enclose, to the Indian Commissary of the Talapuches, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, which seems to me the only means at present while the boundaries are not settled, to make him continue his journey, and at the same time to ascertain whether it is true that some Chickasaw Chief has made a move to treat with the State of Georgia, separately, or with the consent of the others— . . .

Estevan Miró

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO MCGILLIVRAY, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 26, 1786[4]

My dear Sir: The Commandant of Natchez has received news that William Davenport, one of those who came as Commissioners from the State of Georgia to demand Natchez, whom I warned to retire from the district, and from the Nations that are under the protection of Spain, is in the Chickasaw Nation, from which he has written to his Wife, who remained in Natchez "that he was obliged to live among the Indians until spring, the time necessary to conclude his business with them; that he has orders to live there until the Chief Mountaille Lidiar [Mountain Leader] returns, and until the Treaty which he was going to make with Georgia is concluded."

All of which I report to you, first in order that you may determine if it be true that the said Chief treats with the State of Georgia, if he has done it in the name of the other Chickasaw Chiefs and of the whole Nation, which would be contrary to the representation you have made in its name, and [if he treats] in the name of the Talapuches under date of July 10, 1785.

In the second place [I report] in order that you may induce the Chickasaw Chiefs to make the said Davenport retire from their Nation, and to admit no other American, which, it seems to me, they should know is best for their tranquility, this being in conformity to what was agreed upon in the Congress held with me at Mobile

I wish you good health, and that if your affairs permit you may come to this Capital, which I have charged the Commandant of Pensacola, Don Arturo

[4]A. G. I., P. C., 4.

O'Neill to write you and for him to facilitate your passage with comfort in order that we may discuss what you propose to the said Commandant under date of March eighth of this year. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Alexander McGillivray

McGillivray to Miró, Little Tallassie, May 1, 1786[5]

Sir

I have taken this Opportunity to Write to Your Excellency to give You an account of Indian Occurrences, Since the time I had the pleasure of Writing to You last.—

Ever Since the Congress of Pensacola in 1784 We have observed With Much discontent the rapid encroachments Made upon our Lands by the Americans in every quarter that we possess. but particularly by the Inhabitants of Georgia Who had encroached greatly to our prejudice on our best hunting Grounds on the Oconee river and all its Waters. in Justification of their encroachments they pretend to a Claim of a Cession as being Made to them by some part of the Nation in the Year 1783. in Which Year the Americans had Invited the Chiefs of the Nation in General to Meet them in Congress in Augusta in order to Make a peace with them but the Chiefs Not having confidence in them and aware of the American treachery only two Chiefs of the Second Rank and four followers went to Augusta. to meet the American Governor & Council & then instead of treating of a Peace. they demanded a Grant of the lands on the Oconee. to which the Chiefs objected as Not being Authorized by the Nation to Consent to any Such demand. the Americans Not being Satisfied With this Answer. the Justness of Which they Well Knew. they proceeded to threaten the Chiefs With Instant Death. unless that they Complied it Was in Vain that they declared that their Consent to the Grant of lands demanded Would Not be binding on the Nation & that Cessions were Made only in General Convention. an act of the Whole Nation Who are Joint proprietors in Common. the Americans kept the Chiefs & their followers Surrounded by armed Men for five days untill they Consented to all that Was demanded. in order to Save themselves from the threatened destruction.—

Upon the Nations first receiving Notice of this ungenerous transaction perfidious as it Was base. the Whole Warriors. Woud have directly attacked the Americans of Georgia. but it having been recommended to us by the Kings Governor in Congress to use no Violent Means in Settling our differences With those people. I accordingly restrained my Warriors from every act of Hostility While there was any hope of our obtaining Justice any other way. I then represented to the Governor & Legislature of Georgia the Wrongs they were doing to us in encroaching upon & taking our Lands Without our Consent. or Without any thing like an equivalent for them. & desired them to desist from Measures. that Must soon Involve them in all the Miserys

[5] *Ibid.*, 2352.

& Horrors of a Savage War. This & Several other representations Made in the Course of the last two Years have had No effect in procuring from them a redress of the Injurys Complained of. however in the Month of September last. we received Notification from three persons. Who Signed themselves. Benjamin Hawkins. Andrew Pickens. Joseph Martin. three of Five Commissioners appointed by the American Congress to treat With the Indian Nations & to Settle all differences & remove all Causes for quarrel & Contention between the Indians & Americans—

they then Invited the Chiefs of the Creek Nations to Meet them in Congress in the Month of October following to be held at Galphinton. on OGeechee river. I willing to shew our disposition & Inclination to terminate our disputes in an Amicable Manner With the States. it happened that I coud Not attend Myself. Yet I deputed. two Chiefs from the Upper Towns & two more from the Lower Towns of those I Coud Confide in to execute their Trust. & With Instructions to protest in the Warmest Manner against the encroachments that had been made. to Insist upon all Settlers to be removed & to ascertain & draw a boundary line or rather to explain the old one between us & the English. & which only Woud be a Means to prevent future quarrels between us. however in this desirable affair we were disappointed owing to the disgust Conceived by the Commissioners. against the Georgians. for the Wrong Measures that the latter were pursuing. & Whom Without Speaking to the Indian deputys. retired from the place of Conference. & the Governor of that State being left to finish the Treaty. he so far from Satisfying us respecting our lands. that he even asked for More & Insisted upon a boundary line. that plainly proved their Intentions to Wrest More than one half of our Most Valuable lands from us. affairs being thus Circumstanced determined me to Call for a General Convention of the Whole Nation to deliberate on this Subject & to adopt Such Measures as the Critical posture of our affairs now required. Accordingly the Chiefs of the following towns (being those that always decide on National affairs of Importance) assembled at the Tuckabaches Town. the Second of April last. the great Chief Called the Mad Dog presiding at the Council. the Chiefs of the Abecooches Natchez Coosaws. Upper Eufaules. Waccokoy. Weokey. Hillabee. Okchoy. Okfuskee. Kyalejie. Great Eufaules. Toushatchie. Ottapie. Cluewally Tallessies. Coosadas. then of the Upper Nation Numerous Villages Not attending of the Lower Nation these principal towns. the Chiefs of the Cowetas. Cussitas Thloycatka Chieha Oussitches Witchetas. & Numerous Villages Not attending & who are ruled by the above Towns.—

I then opened to the assembly of the Chiefs the business for which I had Called them together. that it Was Now become highly Necessary from the Conduct of the Georgians. to deliberate Seriously on What Steps to take respecting those people. That the transactions of the last Congress fully discovered that under the Mask of Friendship they were contriving our ruin. that our frequent application for Justice had been treated With Contempt. & of course the only alternative that Was left us Was with arms in our hands to force them abandon their Unjust Usurpations & to Set limits to their ambitious Views on our Country I likewise reminded the Chiefs. that We had obtained the protection & patronage of a Great & Powerful King. Who

in any Contest we enter into With our & his Enemies. in asserting our rights. Will afford us Means of Defence & his Great Captains in Congress had promised in his Name that We Shoud be Supported in the possession of Lands that our Fathers Have ownd & possessed. ever Since the first rising of the Sun & the flowing of the Waters. & which has always been acknowledged as Such & Confirmd to us & Secured in the quiet enjoyment of by our former Protectors the British Nation. When they were Sovereigns of North America, & that we Acquit the Congress of any designs against us & believe that the State of Georgia do Act in these Matters in opposition to the recommendations of that body. Tho to keep up some Show of form. that the State has been deceiving Congress to Countenance their proceedings by alledging that we had made a Voluntary Cession & Grant to them of the Lands in question. than Which assertions Nothing Can be more false. & to Support their pretensions they have recourse to the Shamefull Narration of the Year 83. When they extorted a Consent of two Chiefs as before related. & to other forgeries of the like Nature Which they pretend to have obtained on other occasions. all which forgeries we Can prove as tis well Known that a proper representation of our Nation Never Met the Americans in Congress to Negotiate any treatys or Contracts whatever Without Such representation No business is ever done by Indian Nations Neither do We Now Consider ourselves at Liberty to Grant any Lands to any people Whatever Without the Concurrence of our Most Gracious protector the King of Spain —

Upon the Whole after the Most Mature deliberation on the foregoing matters My opinion Was for directly adopting the Most decided Measures. in defence of & for the preservation of so Great a part of our Lands that altho We have the greatest reliance on the Interposition of our Great Protector in our behalf Yet the Artfull Americans Might protract the Conclusion of these affairs untill they had by fraud & Violence possessed themselves of our lands. To prevent future evil being the General policy of all Nations it Was our duty to Check the Americans in time before they get too Strong for us to Contest With them.

The advice I had thus given to the Chiefs. they Unanimously resolved to adopt. I then Issued Orders & Instructions Needfull for the occasion & directed them to Collect a Sufficient Number of Warriors & to Set out Without loss of time & to traverse all that part of the Country in dispute & whenever they found any American Settlers to drive them off & to destroy all the buildings on it but in their progress to Conduct themselves with Moderation & to Shed No blood on No pretence but where Self defence Made it absolutely Necessary Neither were they to Cross over or within the acknowledged limits of the States.

The Chiefs then proceeded to execute their Instructions and Parties of Warriors Set out in every direction to Where ever the Americans were Settled. & where they were forming New establishments the Oconee Lands Were the first Visited & Cleard of the Settlers. other parties went on the Cherokee river. to a place Called Muscle Shoals where we were Informed the Americans were forming a New Settlement but the Indians found at that place only a few Working Utensils & some preparations for buildings. & Which they destroyed.

Cumberland being an old establishment & the Inhabitants Numerous the party that Went against it Coud Not drive them Intirely off but the Indians forced them to retire & take Shelter in their Strong Holds When they ravaged & destroyed the plantations & out places Which has Much Interrupted their Cultivation for this year Operations of this Nature Must in Time Cause them to abandon that encroachment. —

I have Much Satisfaction in finding the Indians Conducting themselves in the Manner I had recommended to them. the Americans of Georgia Were removed Without Injury to their persons. & but a few were killed at Cumberland which was unavoidable as those people bear extreme hatred & rancor to Indians. & the latter from a Sense of the Many Injurys they had Sustained from the Inhabitants there Caused them to exceed their orders in gratifying their revenge. —

I have Now to represent to Your Excellency upon this Occasion that as we are Well acquainted with the revengeful disposition of the Americans. they probably will Consider these Measures we have adopted in asserting our rights against fraud & Violence as a declaration of War—(which is Not Yet our Intention. & which is evident from our Not pushing the affair to the extent we Might have done) & from Motives of resentment they May attempt to take revenge. & I have farther to represent. that encouraged With the hope & expectation of a Certain Support. determined us to the Measures as above related. & Judging the Interest of our great protector Concern'd With our own. for the reasons I have Stated. I have to earnestly request of Your Excellency to afford us a present Supply of Ammunition through any Channel it May be Most Convenient. about Fifty Barrels powder & Ball in proportion. That we May be prepared & found in a respectable posture of defence. Whenever Occasion shall require that we Must repel force With force

from the experience We have already had of the Humane & benevolent disposition of our Great Protector the King. toward us in so many proofs of his Generous Mind. & for which We entertain Sentiments of the Most Sincere Gratitude. We Cannot but rely With the Most perfect Confidence that in Your Excellencys Compliance With our requisition for Means of defence but he Will approve of Your Conduct in this Case

before I leave the Subject of Indian affairs. I will report to Your Excellency all that has Come to My Knowledge respecting the American Negotiations with the Choctaw & Chickasaw Nations. Sometime in October last Commissioners from Congress. Invited the Chiefs of those Nations to Meet them in the Cherokee Country to treat of Peace. & a deputation of Warriors Were Sent from those Nations to the Cherokee Country. When in the Course of the treaty. the Americans asked for a Cession of Lands from those people. which request was refused upon the plea that they had formerly Made Considerable Grants of lands to the English on Tombigbee or Mobile river. & on the Mississippi from the Natchez to the river Yasou. & which was in the Course of the late War Conquered by the Arms of the King of Spain from the English & therefore became property of that Crown. & that they the Indians had no more to give away. Which refusal the Americans resented

so highly that they dismissed the Choctaw deputys Without presents. which is a proof that they did not agree. but they Caused the deputys to Sign a paper which they were led to believe Was a Talk of Peace & Confirmation of Friendship. but on the Contrary. they had Inserted articles respecting Lands.[6] an Imposition that the Interpreter being Illiterate he Coud Not detect. however it Was explained to the Choctaw Nations on the arrival of the Deputys. When the Forgery was execrated by the Whole Nation. & Frenché Oumashtabie the Grand Chief of that people Sent in a deputation to My Nation. with tokens of Friendship & expressing their dissatisfaction of the whole transaction. & with the Strongest assurances of their Intention to Act [Conjointly?] With us as they had formerly done. & adopt & pursue the Same Measures respecting the Americans with us. —

The Chickesaws deputy. Influenced by the large bribes Made him he proved unfaithfull to his trust & Consented to a Grant of land Sufficient to build a Fort upon but he Made a Mistake for we have Since found out that Instead of Lands belonging to his Nation he gave away What belonged to us. & we Since drove off the pretended proprietors. —

Upon the Whole I can assert to Your Excellency for a truth that the Americans have not Met with the Success in their Negotiations with the Indian Nations that they wish to make the World believe. Notwithstanding the Artfull Manner in Which they Managed. their Forgeries have been generally detected. & defeated. in their Intentions —

Neither Shall they ever Succeed While My Nations Continue principals of the Confederacy. & we possess a We possess a More extensive territory on the Waters of the Mississippi than all the other Nations do. —

I Shall Conclude this letter with Suggesting a Measure which it is our wish You Woud take. that is. that Copys of the treatys of Pensacola & Mobile May be transmitted to the Kings Envoy at Philadelphia. to be Communicated to Congress. Which Woud be productive of all the Good Consequences. we Can Wish from it. an open avowal of those treatys. Woud Seriously dispose Congress. & the Southern States to Consent to equitable terms. We Want Nothing from them. Nor Shall We Make any extraordinary Concessions to purchast their favor. . . .

Alex: McGillivray

His Excellency Stephen Miró Esq
Governor & Commanding in Chief
the Provinces of Louisiana & West Florida

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GRAN-PRÉ, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 11, 1786[7]

No. 47

I have in my possession the copy of the said declaration which you enclosed to me in Communication no. 25, of the said Smith who was in the service of

[6]Treaty of Hopewell.
[7]A. G. I., P. C., 4.

Miguel López when Gaillard presented himself at his House, the original of which ought to serve as a beginning in the indictment of the said López, which Your Grace will send as soon as you have concluded with it.

I doubt not Your Grace is aware of the [treason] of James Almstron [Armstrong?], whom, if you achieve his apprehension, you will send to me. I heartily approve the disposition that Your Grace made of the Mulatto Nellie, and the oath taken by the said Samuel Smith.

What Your Grace tells me in communication no. 27 of the news you gathered from the crew of Lieutenant-Colonel Montgomery seems not to be well founded in the light of the later reports from Cumberland of which Your Grace has informed me: it is necessary, nevertheless, to be cautious, to acquire information without your failing to advise me as to their authority and the attention they deserve with the idea of combining it with that which I may have here in order to be able to take the measures that the best service of the King demands.

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Carlos de Gran-Pré

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GRAN-PRÉ, NEW ORLEANS, MAY 19, 1786[8]

No. 54

I have received the information which Your Grace sends me in the communication of April 21 last touching the reports brought from Cumberland by the inhabitant of that District John Forster: it is not bad that the reports are in our favor, but nevertheless they need the confirmation of our envoy to Congress, and Your Grace should always live with the precaution which I have written to you, that we should observe with our neighbors the Americans the most perfect harmony. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Carlos de Gran-pré

[Translation]

CONDE DE GÁLVEZ TO MIRÓ, MEXICO, MAY 20, 1786[9]

I have been informed recently of what Alexander McGillivray wrote to the Commandant of Pensacola by a copy of his Letter which Your Lordship sent me in yours (no. 302) of last April 20th; and your reply, of which you also sent me a copy, merits my approval; and in case the said Commissary should send you a representation I must warn you on the point of giving help to the Indian Nations against the Americans, that it must be reduced to the least which can be given them without compromising ourselves in any manner

[8] *Ibid.*, 4.

[9] *Ibid.*, 2352. See Miró to Gálvez, April 20, 1786, and Miró to McGillivray, April 26, 1786.

whatever with them: that is, they may be given Powder, balls and other things, which we may supply them as though they were included in the trade with them, doing it nevertheless with the greatest secrecy and dissimulation. And as to being responsible for those who may trade among them, we must by no means do anything openly but if these commit any violence in that part of the territory included in our boundaries about which there is yet a dispute pending, it seems that by way of retaliation we should be authorized to drive them even to the other side of the Jurisdiction of our Friends the Indians. With these admonitions Your Lordship may make your decisions about both points with all the firmness demanded by the delicacy of the situation, and in conformity with the events that may follow. I am confident that in any circumstance Your Lordship's procedure will be most prudent and discreet. . . .

The Conde de Gálvez

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, May 20, 1786[10]

No. 17

My dear Sir. In order that Your Excellency may be informed of the attitude of the Indian Nations toward the Americans bordering on their possessions, I enclose to Your Excellency a Copy of the Letter of Alexander McGillivray, Commissary of Our Monarch in the Talapuche Indian Nations, and Chief of a Tribe of said Nations. This person is here at present and informs me that several Parties from his Nation, and one of Cherokee Indians are making the rounds of their Frontiers with the idea of expelling all Americans settled on their Lands: which they have effected with the Georgians in the Lands on the Oconee River, without bloodshed but destroying their houses and crops; and that one of the Chiefs of the Chickasaw Indians, failing to keep faith with the general Confederation of the other Nations, ceded to the Americans, without legal authority, five square miles of Land, on the Cherokee, or rather the Hoghego River, at the place called Muscle Shoals, or Chaké Thlocko, upon hearing which a party of the Creek Nations went to the said place, from which the Americans who were making a new settlement there fled leaving their tools etc. for the Creeks claim that all rights to those Lands, and others contiguous to the Mississippi, are theirs.

The Cherokees, always enraged against the United States, are at present attacking the settlement of Cumberland, under command of the Chief called Bloody Fellow, whose son the Americans killed a short time ago; and finally the Creeks, or Talapuches, are resolved to compel the United States to confine themselves to their own possessions, and not to extend toward the Mississippi, and in the meantime they will force one of the Chickasaw Chiefs, known to be friendly to the Americans, to desist from his Friendship, and if this is impossible they, together with the other Nations of the Confederation, are

[10] A. G. I., P. C., 2352.

resolved to exterminate these friends of the Americans among the Chickasaws: to which end they are preparing with all diligence, unless the United States agree with them, to sustain their claims; and they continually solicit from me the protection of Our Monarch, the confidence they place in Our Nation being such that they voluntarily ask us to build a Fort on the Tombigbee at the Head of the Tensaw.

In view of the few presents given them since the last Congress, and in order that the Powder in these Underground magazines shall not become damp and useless, I have ordered that some of the same, and some balls, together with some other things, be distributed to the Indians who have promised me to live in a duly grateful manner.

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez

McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Tallassie, May 12, 1786[11]

Sir

In My last letter to Your Excellency I had Informed You of the Posture of Affairs between My Nation the Creek Indians & the American States.

I have Now farther to Inform You that all our endeavours to Settle the disputes Concerning our hunting Grounds With those States in a peaceable Manner has proved fruitless & of No effect. for they Not only persist in their former pretended Claims. but have proceeded in a Manner that Convinces us that it is their determination to Wrest from us the Whole of our possessions & territories. Not only of that part that borders on their State of Georgia. but of those likewise that we possess on the Waters of the Mississippi —

Our Situation having by these Means become thus Critical & alarming. for the preservation of our Lands & Familys. we Were obligd to adopt the only Measures left us. our Warriors have taken arms in their hands. & have drove off all the americans that were found Settled upon our hunting Grounds upon the Okonee river to the east of our Nation. & to the N. West from the Cherokee river. a place the Americans had began to Settle. Called by the Indians Chake Thlocko or the big Ford. & by all white Men the Muscle Shoals.—

We have been Carefull in prosecuting this affair to Act with Moderation & Firmness. We have Spilled No blood. we have removed them. without their Sustaining any Injurious Treatment as we had No Intention of Making War upon the Americans but only to assert our rights to our Undoubted property. & Which we are determined to Support at the risque of every Consequence against every attempt of the Americans to dispossess us of them.

Upon our taking the Steps that we have. it May be probable that the State of Georgia May Commence Hostilities against us in Support of their Injustice. We do therefore earnestly request of Your Excellency to grant us an aid of Arms & Ammunition. that we May be prepared to Meet & repel any attacks

[11] *Ibid.*, 2352.

or Invasions that the Americans May Make upon our Country & ourselves. & as we have Neither Made or Intend to Make a War With the Americans. Yet we Wish to defend our lives & property against all attacks upon either. —

In this request I Now Make to Your Excellency for the Means of defence. We have the greatest reliance on the benevolent & Most gracious disposition of his Majesty. our Great Protector. that he Will approve of Your Conduct in affording it to us. & we have likewise the greatest Confidence in the humane & generous dispositions of all his Majestys. principal officers to afford us every assistance in their power as in any Contest we engage in With the Americans for our Lands the Interest of his Majesty is likewise Concernd as I have heretofore explained to Your Excellency. —

I have farther to Inform You that there having been one or two Chiefs of the Chickesaw Nation. been deluded so far by the Americans as to listen to them in Some Measure & promised them a Grant of Land on Chake Thlocko & Which belongs to My Nation & as Such we have drove off the Americans & have taken it back. Such Conduct of the Chickesaw Chiefs has enraged Most of the rest of the Confederate Nations to attack & chastize that people for their fault but I shall Take Measures upon My return home to endeavour to Settle that difference among them. as I will go in person to the Chickesaw Nation for that purpose to cause them act & behave to the Satisfaction of the rest of the Nations in Confederacy against the Americans of Which our Nation is the Head & principal. & to Urge the Chickesaws to be firm & Steady to the Cause of Spain. Whose protection they had asked & obtained at the same time with us. having given you every Information of all our Occurrences for Your Satisfaction. I beg leave to Conclude. . . .

Alex: McGillivray

His Excellency Arthur O'Neill Esq.

Governor & Commanding West Florida at Pensacola

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, May 30, 1786[12]

No. 18

My dear Sir. On the 20th of this month I informed you by a duplicate letter of all that had come to my attention about what had happened between the Americans and the Indian Nations up to that time, and about the Commissary of the Creek Indians, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, having gone to New Orleans as it was arranged by an order of Don Estevan Miró. In the meantime Mad Dog the Chief of the Indian Village of Tuckabache, the one I consider of most importance in the said Nation, arrived here. The latter informs me that the last Party of Creeks which has returned from making the rounds of the frontiers of their Land, reports that they have forced the newly settled American Inhabitants to retire, and that because of the opposition of the said American Inhabitants they killed ten, from which resulted the loss or death

[12] *Ibid.*, 2352.

of two Indians. An American Commissary named McMurphy went successively to the Indian Nations and to the Town of Suaglohachi, proposing to the Indians that they forget the misdeeds committed on each other, agreeing for the new American settlers to withdraw to their old boundaries, asking at the same time that a small piece of Land be ceded in order to have Peace and to enjoy the protection of the United States.

The Indians asked for twenty days to reply, and sent the said Mad Dog to Consult with me, and to remind me of the protection we offered these Nations in the last Congress here, and to solicit a present of Powder and Balls for his Nation. In view of this, and because this Chief is very friendly to us I ordered that he be given four hundred pounds of Powder and eight hundred of Balls of Trade, so that he and his Warriors may defend themselves from the Bears and other fierce Animals,[13] and to hunt Deer; and I shall give Munitions in proportion to their strength, to some other Friendly Towns as their Chiefs present themselves, in which way we shall save some other kinds of presents.

All the Indians of this Nation who were here recently have returned determined to defend their Lands to the last extremity, and to bring to a like mind some few of the Choctaws and Chies, and other Indians who propose to be Neutral, which I doubt not will have the effect that is best for us. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO O'NEILL, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 6, 1786[14]

Confidential

The Commandant of Natchez Don Carlos de Gran-pré tells me under date of June 6th "That there is due shortly the union of two small Armies at the head of the Tennessee River under the command of Brigadier Clark[15] and a Colonel with the purpose of undertaking a march against the Creeks, or Talapuches, and that General Green is at another place in command of a larger army with the same purpose of attacking the said Indian Nation which carries on a destructive Warfare against them."

I do not believe that the news stated in the paragraph of the Letter is certain, because when these reports which were told in Natchez spread to the Ohio, the stroke of which McGillivray informed me had not yet been made; nevertheless as there are some antecedents perhaps it can be verified in part; therefore it will be well to inform McGillivray confidentially, so that he can take the measures necessary for his security. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Arturo O'Neill

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[13]Presumably the Americans.
[14]A. G. I., P. C., 4.
[15]Elijah Clarke.

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO FAVROT, JULY 6, 1786[16]

I have received Your Grace's letter of May 30th by which you inform me of the return of Don Pedro Tugeant, and instructed of what the great Chief of the Chickasaws has said to Macortin [McCurtin], I advise Your Grace that I know very well that all the Chickasaw Chief has said does not concur to anything else than to be able to obtain merchandise for trade cheaper than he gets it now, but according to the information that I have obtained with much care from Mather,[17] and from Mr. Alexander McGillivray himself, the Americans are not in a position to give the said merchandise at the price that Mather and Panton can, and moreover, if the Spanish Government has obtained English merchandise for them, it is with no other motive than that the Indians may have it at better prices, which is impossible on the part of the Americans.

At the end of the Letter Your Grace calls the said Americans rebels, which statement is shocking, the United States of America being recognized as Sovereign, and independent by all the crowned heads, and Powers of Europe who have treated, or treat, with them, and have reciprocally sent envoys wherefore you should not fail in the decorum due to Sovereignty in your treatment of them which should be that inspired by the United States of America. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Pedro Favrot

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO GRAND-PRÉ, NEW ORLEANS, JULY 11, 1876[18]

No. 702

The reply which Your Grace gave to Mr. William Davenport, a copy of which you enclose to me in your communication no. 93, is all right, as is also the Original Letter which he wrote to Your Grace to which you will reply that if he had complied with the order to leave all the Indian Nations that are under the protection of our Sovereign by the conquest of Pensacola within a month from the day he began his journey from Natchez, he would not now find himself hindered about getting to Georgia, but I think the reports that this route is cut off by the Creeks are very uncertain: that this offence of his obliges me to arrest him in whatever part of the said Nations that I may find him, and therefore I could not fail to do it if he presented himself in Natchez, to which particulars may be added that the Congress of the United States, his Sovereign, has replied to our envoy that neither Thomas Green nor any other person was authorized to demand the Fort and district of Natchez; from

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[16]A. G. I., P. C., 4. Favrot had replaced Grimarest as commandant at Mobile.

[17]James Mather of the firm of Mather and Strother. *Cf.* note 16 in the first installment of these "Papers," *Publications* No. 9 (1937), 121.

[18]A. G. I., P. C., 4.

which it follows that if I had had this reply before I made them leave I should have been obliged to arrest them as imposters; therefore any time you are in a position to capture him or any of the pretended Commissaries in that vicinity you will do it and send them to this Capital. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Carlos de Grand-pré

[Translation]

O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, July 21, 1786[89]

My dear Sir. I received your communication of the 12th of this month, and in accord with what you tell me I shall pass on to the Indian Commissary, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, the authentic reports that you had from the Captain, and Knight of the order of St. Louis, in the Service of his Most Christian Majesty, in order to undeceive him about the former report which you had from the Commandant of Natchez; nevertheless I immediately suspected these last reports for the same reason that you suspect them, remembering that at that time there were no reasons for the Assembly of Troops under Mr. Clarke against the Indian Nations. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[Translation]

O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, August 29, 1786[20]

My dear Sir: I am passing on to Your Lordship with no. 1 a copy of a Letter written to me by Daniel McMurphy who says he is an Agent of the States of Georgia to the Creek Nation, and being informed that this man was a fur trader in the said Nations a little while back, and is a man of inferior class, and in order that in the said nations the natives may conceive the proper opinion of us, and at the same time to instill into their minds the possibility of his being an imposter; I have seen fit to Signify to the Indian carriers not to recognize this Agent; notwithstanding it has seemed well to me for our Commissary in this Nation, Don Enrique Roche, to reply to him in the terms that Your Excellency will see in the enclosed Copy no. 3, and as far as possible, and secretly, through the Indian Merchant, Mr. Panton, and some others whom I could trust; I have instructed the said Indian emissaries that the Four Indian Towns of the American Party, Casita, Talassie, Chavacle, Afasqui, and some others of the Lower Creeks inclined up to now to be neutral, and to agree to the Land Cession requested by the Americans, meet in the Town of Tuckabache, the residence of our Indian Friend Mad Dog, and there together with our Commissary, Mr. Alexander McGillivray, discuss freely

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[19] *Ibid.*, 37.
[20] *Ibid.*, 37.

according to the custom of their ancestors, and decide what is best for the entire Nation: All of which I have communicated to His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez and send to you for your information. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró

McMurphy to O'Neill, Lower Creek Nation, July 11, 1786[21]

No. 1°.

May it please Your Excellency—The Honorable the Assembly of the State of Georgia has appointed me their agent to reside in the Creek Nation to preserve peace with their Friends the Creek Indians & to see Justice done between Said Indians & their Traders & to See that each Trader had a Lycence from the Govr. of the State of Georgia & for to deliver Talks to the Said Indians & receive their answers & put a Stop to persons Passing & repassing thro' Said Nation without proper Passports from the Government they Came from & if any Should attempt to pass without Such to Send him or them back to Where they Came from —

But upon my arrival here I called the principle Indians together & also the Traders requiring them to Show their Lycences When I found they had not any from the State of Georgia but had a Lycence from Alexr McGillivray —the Said Traders to be Subject to him & no other & to observe the regulations given by former Superintendents —

I was Surprised to See Such Lycences as I am well assured the Upper & Lower Creek Nations are within the State of Georgia as far as the Junction of the Chatahochie & Flint River.

Your Excellency will See by the inclosed Paper how far Mr McGillivray has infringed on the Territory of the State against Law & Government in Consequence of Which orders The Mad Dog of the Tuckabatchees Sent his Brother & 14 other Indians from his Town the Who were to be joined by all the other Indians but none of the Lower Towns would go with them on the Contrary they had a White King Sent after them but they being on Horse back could not be Come up with, The Said Indians Killed a Young man & burned John Galphin's House & would have done Much more damage had the whole turned out— They had orders to drive all White people before Them over Ogeeche River & take all their property & burn their Houses & rob two Stores that had a great many Indian Goods one on the river Altamaha & the other on the Okonnie River also about one hundred Indians from the Hillibies & Calichies went down upon the Upper Settlement & killed four men & one Woman & brought of [off] a Great Number of Horses I have demanded Satisfaction for the outrage done but I am informed that the Mad Dog and Joseph Cornell who Came up Lately from Pensacla say that Your Excelly told them not to Listen to any Talk they heard untill Mr McGillivray Came up with a Spanish beloved Man & if I was in a Hurry back the Mad Dog had an answer in Writing to give one to Carry down & if I wanted the Head men to go down to Mark the Line There was no occasion as the Line was Marked already & if the Georgians would Still incroach on the Land

[21] *Ibid.*, 37.

between Ogeechie & the Ockonnie river for the Indians to drive them off & take their property & that You would give them Powder & Bullets to defend themselves & had given Seven Loads amunition to the Tuckabatchy Indians & if any of the other towns Wanted a Supply of Powder for them to get a Paper from Mr McGillivray

Can it be possible the Indians could get Such encouragement in time of Peace! For to be encouraged to break their Last Treaty & in the End to have them drove of their Lands — But I am of opinion that Your Excellency has not given any Such Talk to them but it is given out by persons who were dissatisfied that they Could not get their Ends when the British were at War with the Americans

I have Had a Meeting of the Lower towns & they are for Peace & also of the Upper Towns only thirteen met & say they will not hear any Talks but those for Peace & agree to take all White people by the Hand & have a Trade with all who Chuse to Come to their Land

The Kings & beloved men of the Lower Towns required me to Write Your Excelly if You have given any Such Talks & if so how they will Support their Women & Children in Case of War which they expect except Satisfaction is given agreeable to the Many Solemn Treatys they have had with the Americans & they Say that they will Expect Trade from Georgia as usuall as Soon as every thing is made up & they also wish to Know What is the reason that Talks are given out in private So that the Whole Nation Cannot hear the right & expect that any Talks that Come from their friends the Spaniards will be given out in Publick So that all may Hear them & they think the King of Spain has not given any Such Talks as Alexr McGillivray brings up to them but when the Bearer returns they Expect to hear the right Talk As they Hear there is to be a great Talk in the upper Towns Soon when they will hear all that their Friends has to Say to them & will give their full answer —

I have also to inform Your Excellency that Mr McGillivray it is Said is in Company with Mr Panton & has ordered all the Traders that had Goods from Georgia not to pay their Debts but Carry their Skins either to Penscola or St Marks

I am of opinion that every power that has any Connection w^{t} Indians ought to use their Greatest influence for to reform the Savage Mode of Killing & Scalping Christians rather than give them the least Encouragement & this affair has been the most Cruel attempt ever I heard of but it Seems as Providence Interfered & turned their Hearts to See, that what they were told to do, was Wrong & I flatter myself if proper measures were adopted they might be brought So far under Controul that we would have no more of their Cruelties—but it will be impossible untill the White People in their Land is brought under the proper Subordination—These Hints I have Taken the Boldness to Lay before Your Excely. & Shall be happy to Have Your approbation. . . .

signed Da^{l}. McMurphy

Es Copia
To His Excellency Govr O'Neill

McGillivray's Instructions to the King of the Cowettas, September 2, 1785, and April 14, 1786[22]

Little Talassie 2d Septr. 1785.

No. 2

Extract

Dear Sir.

I have herewith inclosed the papers that the partys are to Carry when they go to move off the ockonnie Settlers The Houses of Such as are moved off must be destroyed to prevent others Coming on

Alexr. McGillivray

(Copy)

Tuckabatchys 14th April 1786

Halloing King of the Cowettas

Apoy Mico of my town whom I had Sent with a Talk to You on his return. told me Your Talk since which the Second Man of the Ositchies has been with me & to whom I Spoke a great deal & gave him my full instructions respecting the Affairs on Hand & I expect he has Conferred with upon the Same

Having Considered that it is full time to Execute the Intended Business I have this day made the Broken days to Sett out in the Same is Sent all over the Country & the Bearer will deliver them to You & the last of the Broken days is to Sett out upon & it is the Mad dogs desire that you & people &c. meet him at Townlyzzie in the Upper Trading Road You will meet him there that the Matter may be properly Conducted; if I can find a proper white man I Shall Send one with the Mad Dogs party, Hillibys &c. & full written Instructions all which I concert with the Mad Dog now before I return home

There is this day 10 Broken days the 23 of the Month is the Time to Sett off

(Extract of Letters Sent to Hallowing King of ye Cowettas)

Alexr. McGillivray

The original I have Sent the Governor of Georgia & I do hereby Certify that the above two Extracts are true Copys from the Originals given under My Hand this 11th July 1786. . . .

Danl. McMurphy A.C.N.

Es Copia

[Then the following note in Spanish:]

Copies of the Instructions that Mr. Alexander McGillivray sent to the King of the Town of Cowettas as Certified by Daniel McMurphy who sent a Copy of them to the Governor of Pensacola as he states above—

[22] *Ibid.*, 37.

[Translation]

ROCHE TO MCMURPHY, PENSACOLA, JULY 23, 1786[23]

No. 3

My dear Sir: Don Arturo O'Neill, Colonel in the Royal Armies, Governor of this City and Its District, has passed on to me a writing, or Letter on two pieces of badly worn paper, which I must attribute to the few commodities or conveniences to be found in that place, and His Lordship advises me to answer said papers for the purpose of expressing his regret for the unfortunate death of the Americans you mentioned in the two settlements referred to.

The Theft of the Horses which you mention has been no less displeasing, and he will do what he can to stop such happenings, of whose origin he was ignorant until several Indians informed him of the deed which the papers you sent confirm.

No white man has gone from here to the Nation, except the Merchant Mr. Leslie[24] who returns to St. Augustine and the Governor makes it a rule never to direct or influence anything that the Assemblies of the Nations ought to decide, to whom, at the request of all of them, in the Congress, was granted the Commerce and the protection of our Monarch, in only that which would be conducive to the interest of humanity, and upright Justice, without encroaching on their Laws or customs, to which end the Governor gave Passports signed by his hand to various English traders, and to some Spaniards, permitting them to enter and carry on trade in the Creek Nations, which Passports he considers sufficient on the Indian frontiers of this Province of West Florida, while the United States of North America and Don Diego Gardoqui, the chargé d'affaires of His Catholic Majesty, decide the boundaries.

I should not defer mentioning the bitter complaints presented here by some traders, in which they state that you demand that they hand over the said Passports for you to give them Yours for the sum of ten pounds Sterling each. Finally you will be given occasions to please the States of Georgia, and although I do not know from any other source that you are an agent of the States, I shall send your writing to His Excellency the Viceroy of Mexico, Conde de Gálvez=

Enrique Roche=Mr. Daniel McMurphy.

A Copy (rubric of O'Neill)

[Translation]

O'NEILL TO MIRÓ, PENSACOLA, SEPTEMBER 18, 1786[25]

confidential

My dear Sir I enclose to Your Lordship a copy of the letter I received today from McGillivray. He tells me that Your Lordship previously promised him five thousand pounds of powder and twice that much balls, and flint-locks in

[23] *Ibid.*, 37.
[24] John Leslie of Panton, Leslie & Co.
[25] A. G. I., P. C., 37.

proportion. He continues to send the towns for munitions and repeats the requests for some presents for the Indians who come, which I grant persuading myself that it is best. They have already received 3750 pounds of powder 7400 of balls 3370 flint-locks. Those who arrive now are the towns that in the beginning wished to remain neutral or quiet but it seems that all are entering the war to defend their lands; except the towns of Casista, Chovacla and perhaps that of Talassie.

The Mad Dog Chief of the Tuckabaches left a Lance here for many to be made for them so they could defend themselves from the Sabers of the American Cavalry. If these are to be made Your Lordship will be pleased to advise me, and as I have a model for the armorer here you may order them manufactured there. The powder that is given them is from the supply of this city for which you may send the five thousand pounds for whatever may arise in the future. At this time the Indians will have their final reply from the Georgians. It is believed that they still have parties of Cavalry on the frontier but I foresee that the Indians will win and I doubt that the Americans are informed. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró

[Translation]

O'Neill to the Conde de Gálvez, Pensacola, September 24, 1786[26]

No. 20

My dear Sir: In Consequence of the request of the Indian Commissary Mr. Alexander McGillivray in behalf of the Creek Indian Nations, in order that these be given five thousand Pounds of Powder, ten thousand of Balls of trade, and flintlocks in proportion for the defense of themselves and their lands which are menaced by the Americans of Georgia; since it is agreed between the said McGillivray and Don Estevan Miró that the said Indian Nations should be given half of the Five thousand Pounds of Powder immediately and the Other half a little at a time as they shall agree and as it shall be necessary for them: Having been recently informed by the said Commissary that some Parties of American Armed Cavalry threaten the Indian frontiers with invasion, and finding it necessary to give the rest of the two thousand five hundred Pounds to the different Indian Towns that send here daily claiming the protection of Our Monarch which was promised them in the last Congress; I have ordered that they be given the said Munitions, together with a few presents from the goods which remained from the Congress, which will soon be moth-eaten in those Warehouses.

Many of the said Towns ask that Lances similar to the Heads of Halfpikes be made for them, and for that purpose the Chief of Tuckabache, one of the most Distinguished, and most enraged against the Americans, gave me one of the said Lances to serve as a model. By means of these they are

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[26] *Ibid.*, 37.

confident of being able to defend themselves from the Steel arms of the American Cavalry, and of vanquishing them in any encounter; and the Indians having urged for the third time that they be given the Lances, I had one made here to serve as a model, and sent the original to Don Estevan Miró, who will decide whether it is best to make them, in Case we should distribute them.

I have informed Don Diego de Gardoqui by way of Havana, about the state of the difficulties between the Indians and the Americans; and I wrote previously to that effect by way of St. Augustine, Florida, from whence I am told that Don Vicente Manuel de Zespedes[27] sent it by a trusted friend to our Chargé d'Affaires, to which I have not had yet a Reply.

The said Nations, except the Towns of Chovocla, Casista, and Talassie, expect the reply of the Georgians daily with impatience, and if these do not desist from their claims to the Indian Lands, I foresee that hostilities will be opened. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO FAVROT, NEW ORLEANS, OCTOBER 3, 1786[28]

It is indispensable that Your Grace put forth every effort to rescue from the Chickasaws the daughter of Madame Bautista who is among the relatives of Colbert's[29] sons: in this the Indians will do no more than keep their word given me at the Congress: they should be made to understand that the whites do not work in this way; for even during war prisoners are exchanged for the sake of humanity, and to alleviate their disagreeable condition. What would the Chickasaws say if since the time peace was made we had kept in our possession some of their Indians? What representations, what efforts would they not have made? It is certain that they could have demanded them with justice: it is more certain that we should already have shown our resentment for the little attention paid to our talks: but I have wished up to now to show that the Spanish Nation works with prudence based always on reason and justice, and I am hoping that the Chickasaw Chiefs who boast of being most humane and tractable, and who promised to hand over this girl, will unite to fulfill their word, for which I will give them a regular present, but in any other manner I must not view the Chickasaws as friends. This you will tell the Chiefs, and the traders, in order that they be informed of the reason, advising me of the results so that I may take the measures necessary in behalf of justice. . . .

Estevan Miró

Señor Don Pedro Favrot.

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[27]Governor of East Florida.

[28]A. G. I., P. C., 4.

[29]James Colbert, leader of a band of Loyalists, Chickasaws and his half-breed sons, who harassed the Spaniards on the Mississippi during 1782 and 1783.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, October 11, 1786[30]

No. 23

My dear Sir. Various traders among the Creeks have informed me that the American inhabitants in the new settlement of the Town of Cumberland, have sent a person Named Martin[31] from among them to trade with the Creek Indians, offering them an alliance, and offering to separate themselves from all Jurisdiction of the United States of America; and Jacobo Murniac, the father-in-law of the Commissary McGillivray, being here a few days ago I examined him on this point and he informed me that the said Martin expected to be in the Town of Tuckabache within a few days where the Chiefs, or most Important men, of the Creek Nation are to meet with the Commissary McGillivray. Consequently I have warned the said Commissary to reflect well on the propositions of the Inhabitants of Cumberland, who, it seems to me are to be distrusted; and not having had any other previous information about that Assembly at Tuckabache, thinking that it was held at his request, I have notified Don Estevan Miró.

Jacobo Murniac himself, and other traders assure me that Colonel Clark with two hundred Armed Americans has returned to settle and cultivate the banks along the central part of the Oconee River which they claim to hold by right of conquest from the Indians without paying Tribute to the States of Georgia and the said Clarke having asked help of General Pequen [Pickens] of South Carolina, it is reported that the said General replied that the first Orders that he expected from Congress Would be to reduce the said Clarke and his two hundred Settlers to obedience.

This Colonel was the one that employed the Fur trader McMurphy as Agent of the States of Georgia to the Creek Nations, because he knew the language well and was well acquainted among them. As a reward every trader was to obtain a Passport from him by paying ten pounds Sterling, and giving up the Passports that they held from the Spanish Government. If he had had a Commission from the States of Georgia he would have shown it, and would not have fled when he met the Commissary Alexander McGillivray.

He shows himself to be a vulgar man by his manner of writing to me on two pieces of dirty, and worn paper, from which together with other indications, it is evident that I have used the best judgment in not answering him myself, but replying through the Indian Commissary Don Enrique Roche; in view of which [lack of respect from the Governor] he was despised by the majority of the Indians who had favored him before.

Even though the matter were of greater gravity, and demanded treatment with more refined policy or delicacy than Don Estevan Miró has proposed, not in every case is it possible to wait two or three months for a reply from

[30]A. G. I., P. C., 2352.
[31]Joseph Martin.

New Orleans; neither are we sure that the Creek Indians would have the patience to wait, although the Choctaws are accustomed to do it with the greatest humility and meekness. The present Case is one which does not give time to await the resolution of Don Estevan Miró, and I am meanwhile forced to proceed as seems best to me.

The said Officer ordered that five thousand pounds of powder, and balls in proportion, be given to the Indians: that half be given immediately with all the secrecy possible, and the rest afterwards if it be necessary. In order to do this, and forewarned by the said Officer, the Powder was delivered to the House of Panton the Merchant, and distributed from there as if it had come from the said Merchant, in conformity with what McGillivray wrote asking for munitions for the different Towns. Seeing this, the other places, that until then had proposed to remain neutral, also asked for Munitions, to defend their Lands, and successively they were sent to me by the said Commissary until they had received the five thousand pounds; although I had cautioned him to use the greatest economy, and until now Don Estevan Miró has not sent me the Powder as he promised. Just now the principal Indians of the Towns of Ofarqué and Oyaqui have come to me with a Letter, a copy of which I pass on to Your Excellency. These being recently attracted to the Party in which we are interested, it is probable that they may become disgusted, and not want to wait for the decision of Don Estevan Miró, I shall therefore order that they be given what is requested in the said Letter of McGillivray, and as other Large Towns, particularly Tallassie, are up to now in the same condition; if they come to embrace the Cause, I have asked that Señor Miró advise me whether or not I should give them more Munitions in order not to do anything detrimental to the royal interests, which would be painful to me, that being most important.

If the said Officer had reprimanded me before writing to Your Excellency condemning my Conduct, I would have Satisfied him with these and other reasons, and Your Excellency would not have had the annoyance of Hearing Such a matter, which I regret very much. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

O'Neill to the Conde de Gálvez, Pensacola, October 11, 1786[32]

No. 24

My dear Sir. In regard to the Indian Nations, I should not omit to explain to Your Excellency, that it seems to me that three Commissaries who are either Spanish or French, should be placed among them; one in the lower Creeks where McGillivray is; another in the Chie Nation; and another in the Choctaw Nation, through whom the trade of the Indians with the Spaniards and the French would be stimulated, and exact and satisfactory information about what goes on in the Nations could be obtained, and they would curb

[32]A. G. I., P. C., 2357.

the various Americans who try to influence the Indians against our Interests. It would be best for the said Commissaries not to be privately in the Fur trade with the Indians, because personal Interests might not be conducive to the cultivation of friendship with the Nations. By this means all of the English traders there now would naturally be replaced, who, devoted to the English Government before prefer our friendship now to that of the Americans; and I am persuaded, and experience has taught us, that McGillivray feels the same way. In case of a break with England (although they are useful at present) I foresee that they would embrace the British side, because they are all loyalists. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, November 8, 1786[33]

No. 26

My dear Sir. I am sending Your Excellency a Copy of a Letter that I received from the Indian Commissary Mr. Alexander McGillivray, and with it Copies of those that the said Commissary received from the Commissioners of the States of Georgia, and his Reply to the same; by which Your Excellency will learn the present state of the dispute between the Creek Nations and the Americans. You will note that the trader Morphy [McMurphy], who previously said he was a Commissioner from the said States of Georgia, is not among the present Commissioners, nor is he even mentioned.

Under this date I am enclosing to Don Estevan Miró similar copies for whatever use he thinks best; although he refuses to assume any responsibility in matters concerning the Talapuche Nation and its controversy with the Americans: until Your Excellency is pleased to reply to the accusation that he sent you against me on this point; and although I have Communicated to him the Orders I had from Your Excellency about the matter, he persists in being astonished that I should have answered the said Murphy as a Commissioner of a Civilized Nation on a point so delicate, insinuating, as I see it, my incapacity to handle such cases, which disdain hurts me very much; all the more since this Officer shows me singular esteem in private correspondence, all of which I lay before the just consideration of Your Excellency. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

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[33] *Ibid.*, 37.

McGillivray to O'Neill, Little Talassie, October 8, 1786[34]

Sir

I have had the pleasure of receiving several Letters from You & which have been unanswered on my Part owing to my ill State of Health

Your Excy no doubt is desirous to learn our occurrences since my arrival from Yr. place

I had formerly advised You of McMurphy's retreat from this Nation upon my Coming here— He has not returned yet tho' he told the Indians he would soon be up— The enclosed are Copys of a Letter I received last month from the Georgia Commissioners & my answer to them— By their Letter Your Excellency will observe that they had an intention to attack us—

Their Not attempting it I'm informed is owing to their not being ready as soon as they Expected—that they had Sent to the Settlers over the Mountains to Embody & march into our Country on that Quarter Whilst the Georgians were to march from their Country direct Here but their delays & finding that we Were in a State of defence they have deferred for another time their projected invasion of us— Notwithstanding their fair talks I Shall be upon my Guard & not trust them too far

Your Excelly has likewise heard that Messengers from Cumberland have been here— Upon my arrival here in July last there was a Cherokee Half Breed here from thence, but as he was not much noticed another Man an inhabitant of Cumberland Came last Month Solliciting a Peace with us upon any terms & Conditions most agreable to ourselves & declared their determination to give us full Satisfaction respecting hunting Grounds & are willing to be restricted to the Boundary We Shall allot for them— I should have answered them as I did the Georgians without Calling the Chiefs to assemble, but the Clamor of the Tame King & Fat King Who deemed the propositions reasonable & to quiet the alarm of the People whom I have Kept all together & under arms this Past Summer that they have not Hunted for their families, Whereby they were Somewhat distressed, I consented to a Truce till next April—that the Indians might hunt this Ensuing Winter in Safety & in the Spring I agreed to Consider Such terms as would be Convenient & Satisfactory for our Interest.—

And another Point I had in view for declining the treaty now was, that before next April Your Excelly would Certainly receive advices from Your Court respecting the finall Settlements of the Limits between Spain & Congress from the Knowledge of which we could regulate our Conduct with those people—

The foregoing is an Exact Recount of all our Transactions with the Americans Which I hope will be approved by Your Excellency Considering the Present Situation of our affairs, & if any Political measure of mine does not meet Your idea I Shall always be happy to receive advice from Your Excellency Whose Knowledge & abilitys to judge What is for our good are

[34] *Ibid.*, 37.

So very far Superior to mine & if any thing is Wrong I hope you will Consider it as an Error & not a designed thing done— Your Excellency already Knows my History— You likewise Know that the Americans have greatly injured me & my dearest friends & all this is further aggravated by their open attempt to ruin my Country under these Circumstances & Supposing me to possess the most ordinary feelings it Cant be Suspected that I entertain a Wish favorable to the Americans or to their Interest

The Indians are mostly returned with their quotas of Ammunition for which I sincerely thank Your Excelly tho' I am Sorry to Learn that Some of the Talapusses Squandered What they Got Yet the rest of the towns have not done So— The Holloing King of Coweta is Satisfied— He is a brave Good Chief & his towns are determined Enemys to the Americans Thee Ochfuskees have been late in going for their Ammunition Yet I hope they will get Some as they lay most open for an attack from an Enemy

Moniac tells me of the bad behavior of Some of the Pack Horsemen that have been down lately I am now taking Steps to have them secured but I fear they have run of to the Cherokees but I Shall Certainly take measures to Prevent the like in future My being so long Confined by sickness has tempted those fellows to Commit Such Actions expecting to escape before their detection— . . .

Alexr McGillivray

I have just received Information that one Davenport an American Commissioner that was Chased from Natchez & ever since been lurking in the Choctaw & Chickesaw Nations has wrote in here to a Trader asking leave to Pass thro' this Country to return home as he has received letters of recall owing to the Limits having been Settled between Monsr Gardoqui & Congress & that the Natchez falls within the Spanish Limits—he mentioned no more but I expect Your Excellency will soon receive Accounts of the Whole Affair when I Shall be Glad to hear it from You

Es Copia (rubric of O'Neill)

[Translation]

O'Neill to Gálvez, Pensacola, November 8, 1786[35]

My dear Sir. In the Six Years that due to the patronage of Your Excellency I have been governing here my zeal for the welfare of the Royal Treasury has been Evident, nor has my activity been less in fulfilling the other obligations of the Royal Service which I have seen myself compelled to assume, without their having become grievous to me, although during this time I have been forced to represent so many rôles like Harlequin in the Italian Theater, sometimes that of Interpreter, of Foreman, of Guard, and others etc. etc. indispensable and obligatory.

I am persuaded that there are no complaints against my rule or conduct, for I have given due regard to the Merit of each Subordinate with particular attention to those deserving the good Opinion of Your Excellency. Never-

[35] *Ibid.*, 37.

theless I see with great pain the disdain with which Governor Estevan Miró views my Zeal, hiding his insincerity under a Cloak of Friendship, which I can Only attribute to some unforeseen preoccupation: In Consideration of this I Beg that out of the goodness of Your Excellency's great Heart you will procure me some other place, and if it is possible under Your Excellency's command which for me will always be most pleasing; and if this satisfaction is not obtainable, in fourteen months the Government of San Juan de Puerto Rico will be vacant and if it please Your Excellency to continue your support I shall send you a petition to that effect for His Majesty.

I am obliged to molest Your Excellency to inform you that I have written only two letters to Don Diego de Gardoqui, the first on April 19th, a Copy of which I sent to Your Excellency May 4th (No. 14), and the second on May 20th;[36] a Copy of which I have the honor to enclose now by which Your Excellency will learn of the vexation that Don Estevan Miró plans for me, and the justice of my desire to be liberated from his command. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

His Excellency the Conde de Gálvez.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Miró, Pensacola, November 16, 1786[37]

My dear Sir. I enclose to Your Lordship a copy of the last letter I received from the Commissary Mr. Alexander McGillivray, dated October 30 and by it Your Lordship will learn of the dispositions of the Georgians of America to attack the Creek Indian Nations and what steps the said McGillivray has taken to assemble the Indians who are off Hunting to defend their Country.

You will also learn of the truce the Indians have made with the Americans of the Cumberland settlement, and the reasons cited by the said Commissary for making the truce.

According to what some traders tell me, Brigadier Twige [Twiggs], and Colonel Clarke, command the new Georgia Levy, about 1500 in number, on the Oconee River; and that another American named Martin commands two hundred men who have gone to prevent some of the Cherokee Indians who are Friends of the Creeks from uniting with the latter.

The two Corps of Americans mentioned have fortified their encampments. It is also rumored in the Nations that two Chiefs and some Creek Warriors who are Friends of the Americans, and some other Indians from Opposing Towns, who went to the Congress offered them by the Georgia Commissioners, are being held until the Nations give satisfaction to the Georgians for the Deaths recently caused by them and cede the lands that are demanded.

These last rumors need confirmation: all of which I report to Your Lordship so that you may do what is most convenient. . . .

Arturo O'Neill

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

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[36]This is almost a verbatim copy of O'Neill's letter to Gálvez on the same day. See *supra*.

[37]A. G. I., P. C., 37.

[Translation]

O'Neill to Favrot, Pensacola, December 1, 1786[38]

Confidential

My dear sir. The first reports that I had from the Commissary Alexander McGillivray stated that the Georgians of North America, 1500 in number under the command of Brigadier Twiggs and Colonel Clarke, had advanced to the Oconee River, and that an officer with two hundred men was in a fortified Camp in the Cherokee Nation, and that although the Georgia Commissioners called the Creek Indians to a Congress there went to the said Assembly only a small number of Friends of the said Americans and a few other Indians, not friendly, who went out of curiosity, to inform themselves better about what was going on, all of whom have been imprisoned until the Creeks give satisfaction for shedding American blood, but recently I have had a report from McGillivray that the Georgia Commissioners kept only eight of the principal Indians who went to their Congress, two of whom were Chiefs of Talassie and Cussitaws, Towns very friendly to the Americans, and of the eight imprisoned I am also informed that two have escaped, and that the other Indians were dismissed with a few presents, only the Six mentioned remaining. It is certain that the Indians on the frontiers of Georgia have sent their cattle to the center of their Country, and that they have notified all those out hunting to return to their Towns, and to prepare to defend themselves from the Americans, but the latter saw fit to retire and the Indians have returned to the Hunt. They have made truces with the Cumberland people until next April, although they have not consulted me about this, and if they had I would not have taken part in the matter, nor do I think it well to do so.

For some time McGillivray has had a Scotchman of the same name Caring for a Plantation on the Alabama River, to which place he had a mind to send his cattle, which according to your advice has been done, and they will certainly be safer there in case the Contest between the Creeks and the Americans continues.

Magnaque has been here to get goods for his trade from whom you will learn of the state of affairs between the Creeks and the Americans.

In all these matters the Superior direction and orders of Don Estevan Miró are to be preferred, and it is only for me to explain in general the rules that you are to follow. Above all I try to keep the Indians and their traders pleased, and not to give umbrage to the Americans whom I try to keep at a distance without breaking with them; but in every case it is necessary to sustain the rights of our Monarch, and in this I shall do what I can to help you. Meanwhile I shall give you all the news that I can obtain which will be of use to you. . . .

Arturo O'Neill*

Señor Don Pedro Favrot

[38] *Ibid.*, 2352.

*The third installment of these "Papers" will appear in No. 11 of the *Publications*.

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BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History. By Samuel Cole Williams. (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1937. xi + 495 pp. $5.00.)

"This volume was prepared under the conception that the time had come when the histories of several of the older States of the Union should be rewritten. . . . In the past generation or two archival materials have been brought to light and arranged for the benefit of the historical researcher. Those materials afford an opportunity to correct errors made by our early historians, and to fill in the gaps which they, without the aid of such materials to any considerable extent, were compelled to leave. . . .

"No American historian has grasped what the possessors of the two valleys in the interior of Tennessee, the Cherokee and the Chickasaw Indians, did in winning the greatest valley of the continent from the French. Historic justice will not be done until this is no longer true. In the comprehensive *American Nation,* consisting of twenty-eight volumes, the Chickasaws are not mentioned, and scantiest notice is given the Cherokees, when, if any one thing is clearly demonstrated by this work it is that these two nations of red men were highly efficient factors in defeating the strategy of France throughout decades before the French and Indian War and in that war which resulted in winning the Mississippi Valley, eastern part, for Great Britain . . .

"It was the announced purpose to bring into this volume the narrative through the War of the Revolution down to the period covered by the author's *History of the Lost State of Franklin,* but it was found that important materials collected would have to be discarded were that plan pursued. Another volume, therefore, will treat of Tennessee in the period of the Revolution; then, if years are spared, it is intended to strike off a 'History of the Southwest Territory—1789-1796'." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Pre-Columbian Times—Whites in the Tennessee Country; II. Early Exploration; III. Tennessee as a part of Virginia and of Carolina; IV. The Rivers—Names, Cartography and Glimpses of History; V. Early Trails—Forest Highways; VI. A Fore-Gleam; VII. Beginnings of Trade—to 1720; VIII. Eclipse Threatened—1720-1730; IX. Decade 1730-1740; X. Priber and his Empire, "Paradice"; XI. Decade 1740-1750; XII. The Grapple; XIII. An Historic Quarrel; XIV. Hazard's Scheme for a Colony; XV. The Virginia Fort; XVI. Erection of Fort Loudoun; XVII. An Interlude—1756-1758; XVIII. Presbyterian Mission at Fort Loudoun; XIX. The Fall of Fort Loudoun; XX. Retaliation; XXI. Timber-

lake's Mission; XXII. Later Schemes for Colonies; XXIII. A Half-Decade Pause—1763-1768; XXIV. A Year of Treaties; XXV. Hutchin's Survey of the Cumberland and Tennessee—1768-69; XXVI. Earl Granville's District; XXVII. The Long-Hunters' Decade; XXVIII. Settlement Begins; XXIX. Treaty of 1770 and Donelson's Line Survey of 1771; XXX. The Watauga Association—1772; XXXI. Profound Peace Followed by War—1773-1774; XXXII. More Colonization Schemes 1774-1775; XXXIII. A Lull—1775; XXXIV. Home Sites of Earliest Settlers.

The work is well documented and contains numerous valuable illustrations, reproductions of several early maps, two appendices, and bibliography.

Life and Times of Edward Swanson. By William Henry McRaven. (Nashville; Sponsored by the Fort Nashborough Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1937. xxiii + 240 pp. $3.00.)

"In the present volume the author presents a history that puts on the record more of that which is commendable in men than that which is otherwise. In *The Life and Times of Edward Swanson* he has collated and recorded facts which not only serve the purposes of history, but which also awaken pardonable pride in the minds of those who may be related to Edward Swanson and those who co-operated with him in his splendid achievements.

"In addition to this history of Mr. Swanson and the other pioneers who founded the beautiful, historic and socially delightful city of Nashville, Mr. McRaven has produced not only a work that is interesting to the people of Nashville, of Tennessee, and of every one who has an appreciation of real men, of the courage that dares, the energy that achieves, the hardiness that endures privation and suffering, but one that will prove itself useful and informing." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Introduction; II. Ancestry; III. Cumberland Settlement; IV. Colonel Donelson's Voyage; V. Pioneer Government; VI. Fort Nashborough; VII. First Weddings; VIII. Attack on Freeland's Station; IX. Battle of the Bluff; X. Robertson's Plea saves the Settlement; XI. Pioneer Honor Roll; XII. Resumption of the Compact; XIII. Coldwater Expedition; XIV. Attack on Buchanan's Station; XV. Pioneer Characteristics; XVI. Settlement of Williamson County; XVII. Some Reminiscences of Rev. Joseph Tarkington; XVIII. Death of General James Robertson; XIX. War of 1812; XX. President Monroe's Visit to Nashville, Tennessee; XXI. Chickasaw Treaty Held at Franklin, Tennessee, 1830; XXII. Choctaw Treaty, 1830; XXIII. Conclusion.

Included are several illustrations and an appendix giving inventories of wills and estates. The work contains a bibliography but no footnotes.

Andrew Jackson: Portrait of a President. By Marquis James. (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937. 627 pp. $5.00.)

This is a continuation of the author's previously published *Andrew Jackson: Border Captain,* and covers the career of Jackson from 1822 to his death in 1845.

The volume is divided into three "Books": A Reluctant Candidate, The "Reign," and Twilight of a Chieftain. The chapters are entitled: I. The Nashville Junto; II. A Grass Hat; III. The Canvass; IV. The Election; V. The Bargain; VI. A Preoccupied Cincinnatus; VII. End of Flight; VIII. The Haggard Hero; IX. Emergence of a Quiet Statesman; X. Throb of a Distant Drum; XI. A Greek Temple in Chestnut Street; XII. Martin Van Buren's Masterpiece; XIII. Mr. Biddle's Dilemma; XIV. A Sword Against Disunion; XV. "A Knightly Personage"; XVI. Mr. Biddle's Biggest Gamble; XVII. Doom of the Bank; XVIII. The Etiquette of Collecting Twenty-five Million Francs; XIX. The Prairie Rose; XX. The Scepter Passes; XXI. Shadows on the Hermitage; XXII. A Taper Burning Low; XXIII. Last Leave.

The work is written with the same romantic touch so characteristic of the author's previous volumes, but at the same time it is the result of exhaustive research. According to the author in his "Personal Acknowledgments" (pp. 581-82) he "examined in manuscript about forty thousand documents, exclusive of sources consulted more conveniently in print." Although his purpose was to portray Jackson as a "human being," he discovered so many "undisclosed facts concerning Jackson's emergence and progress as a candidate for the presidency," that he found it necessary to make "something of a new story of it," with the result that the early chapters are "top-heavy with politics at a time when General Jackson's actual life was far from so." As a general rule he claims to be concerned with history "only as it touched Jackson or as Jackson touched it."

Included are numerous illustrations, including a facsimile of Jackson's last letter, a bibliography, and sixty-five pages of cited references.

William G. Brownlow, Fighting Parson of the Southern Highlands. By E. Merton Coulter. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937. vii + 432 pp. $3.50.)

In this book the author has "attempted to recreate a man whose name at one time pervaded the land; today he is almost unknown except to those people who have a flare for the local or the unusual. He worked out his career in such an exaggerated fashion that he could not have failed to impress himself upon his contemporaries, but his accomplishments were of such a nature that succeeding generations have sought to forget them, even as a nightmare. . . .

"He was one of the most dynamic personalities of his times. To begin with he developed a small area of disturbance in religion in the Southern Highlands as he rode the circuit; but as time went on he spread his interests and activities into journalism and politics until he enveloped the whole country. In ante-bellum times he was a fiery parson and editor who unloosed in the name of Christianity a terrible flood of epithets and personal abuse against the Presbyterians and the Baptists; during the war he toured the North as a martyr to the cause of Unionism in the South and talked himself into a small fortune; after the war he became an avenging crusader for the

holy cause of Radical reconstruction and set up in Tennessee a regime of violence and vengeance which stunned the South and produced misgivings in the minds of even such Northerners as Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Crusading in the Southern Highlands; II. A New Parson Rides the Circuit; III. Personal Journalism; IV. Religious Warfare Renewed; V. Black Slaves and Mountain Whites; VI. Ante-Bellum Politics; VII. Secession; VIII. East Tennesseans Rebel Against Rebellion; IX. In Jail and Out; X. A Tour of the North; XI. Back in Tennessee; XII. A New Governor Seeks Vengeance; XIII. The Minority Establishes Itself; XIV. The Reign of the Tennessee Radicals; XV. The Storm Before the Calm; XVI. The Like Shall Not Be Seen Again.

The work is amply documented and includes several illustrations, a map of the "Brownlow Country," and an extensive bibliography.

Over the Blue Wall. By Etta Lane Matthews. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937. xii + 328 pp. $2.00.)

"In this book I have tried to give you a picture of the 'Land of the Western Waters,' the land that lies between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, when this region was the Indians' hunting ground and when the white man struggled to possess it. The explorer, after he had climbed the Blue Wall of the Appalachians, found many rivers flowing west or southwest—the Alleghany, the Monongahela, the Ohio, the Hiwassee, the Watauga, the Tennessee, and other streams large and small—all tempting him to follow them, by trail and canoe, into the heart of the continent. He heard, too, of a Great River, into which all the western waters flowed, and of riches to be found far beyond the horizon. So the 'Land of the Western Waters' became a vast stage on which Indian tribes and white nations acted a great drama in many acts and scenes. Although the story takes you north, south, east and west, I have tried to tell you especially about the region south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi.

"The information has been gathered from many sources—histories, colonial records, letters that passed between the English King and the colonial governors, early travels and diaries, and biographies of the leading frontiermen. If, through reading these pages, you have a keener appreciation of the land which is your heritage, the book will not have been written in vain." (Message to the Reader.)

The work is divided into eight parts: I. The Spanish Search for Gold; II. Frenchmen on the Great River; III. The English Find the Valley; IV. Friendly Indians and Indian Enemies; V. Trade Rivalry and Warfare; VI. Occupying the Wilderness; VII. The Colonies Revolt; VIII. The Spanish on the Border. The chapters are entitled: 1. The Land of Gold Hats; 2. Hernando De Soto; 3. Indian Tales and French Adventures; 4. Prince of French Explorers; 5. Westward Bound; 6. The Chickasaws; 7. The Cherokees; 8. Creek Neighbors; 9. The Choctaws; 10. Vendors of Trinkets; 11. Trading Posts and Forts; 12. The Hunters in the Forest; 13. Pushing Westward; 14.

Farther Westward; 15. The Indians in the Revolution; 16. Western Riflemen; 17. Spanish Red Men; 18. Spanish Intrigues.

The book is dedicated "To the Boys and Girls in the Land of the Western Waters," and is designed as supplementary reading for children in the elementary grades.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. V, *The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817.* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1937. vi + 815 pp. $1.50.)

"The volume embodies approximately 650 of the official papers of the Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817, and is the first of two volumes relating to that Territory. Among the special features of Volume V may be noted (1) the circumstances of the origin of the Territory; (2) the organization of the land system; (3) the inability of the Federal Government to prevent intruders from occupying the public lands; (4) the establishment of post-roads and the extension of the postal system to the frontier; (5) the creation of local governments; and (6) Indian relations." (Press Release.)

One of the governors of the territory, W. C. C. Claibourne, was a prominent Tennessean, and the Indian affairs and land problems of the Mississippi Territory were intimately connected with Tennessee history. Included are numerous letters to or from notable Tennesseans.

A History of Navigation on the Tennessee River System: An Interpretation of the Economic Influence of this River System on the Tennessee Valley. Prepared by the Transportation Economics Division of the Tennessee Valley Authority under the supervision of J. Haden Alldredge, *et al.,* and printed as *House Document* No. 254, 75 Cong. 1 Sess. (Washington, 1937, x + 192 pp. 20c.)

"This report, prepared from a strictly historical point of view, discusses the use of the Tennessee River system as a waterway and the relationships between that use and the economic and political development of the Tennessee Valley and contiguous territory. Our Board initiated this study in the belief that the planning and execution of a navigation development of the Tennessee River and its tributaries would be aided by a survey of the lessons history may have to teach in this field.

"This history reveals the very substantial, but little publicized part played by navigation on the Tennessee River system in the early settlement and commercial development in the Tennessee Valley. It reveals the unused potentialities of the river system as a means of commercial intercourse during various periods of the region's history. Perhaps the outstanding lesson derived from this examination of history is that man's failure to overcome certain natural obstacles to a freer and more convenient use of these waterways has resulted in a wastage of vast transportation potentialities. The historical use of the river system in its comparatively undeveloped state provides a sub-

stantial basis for the belief that its permanent improvement campatible with the demands of modern waterway transportation will promote a thriving commerce within the Tennessee Valley and between that region and other parts of the Nation connected to it by the great Mississippi River system." (Letter of Submission to the President.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Introduction; II. Role of the Tennessee in Early Exploration, Trade, and Settlement; III. The Tennessee River and the Question of Free Navigation of the Mississippi; IV. Some Economic Phases of the 20-Year Period 1783-1803; V. Transition Period, 1803-14; VI. The Rise of Steamboating; VII. The Coming of Railroads to the Tennessee Valley; VIII. The Influence of the Tennessee River upon the War Between the States; IX. Revival of Navigation on the Tennessee River Following the War Between the States; X. Commercial Decadence on the Waterways; XI. Need for Navigation Improvements on the Tennessee River; XII. Navigation Improvements on the Tennessee River through Private Efforts; XIII. Navigation Improvements on the Tennessee River and Its Tributaries by the States of Alabama and Tennessee; XIV. Proposals for Connecting the Tennessee River with Other River Systems; XV. Navigation Improvements on the Tennessee River System by the Federal Government; XVI. The Advent of a New Navigation Epoch on the Tennessee River System.

Included are numerous illustrations and maps, an appendix listing the vessels in the fleet at the battle of Shiloh, a bibliography, and the references cited.

Constitutional Problems of Tennessee. Prepared by the Department of History and Political Science and the School of Commerce, University of Tennessee, The University of Tennessee *Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XIII, No. 2. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, Division of University Extension, 1937. 115 pp. 25c.)

"Although numerous attempts have been made to amend or revise it, the Tennessee constitution stands today exactly as it was adopted sixty-seven years ago. Since 1870 other states have adopted numerous amendments or have made comprehensive revisions by means of conventions; as a result, to Tennessee belongs the dubious distinction of having the oldest unamended, unrevised constitution in the United States. . . .

"The present study was undertaken in the belief that the people will again be called upon to vote either on specific amendments or on the question of calling a constitutional convention. The purpose of the study is to provide voters with information that will aid them in deciding whether any constitutional changes are required, and if so, the nature of the changes that should be made." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Introduction; II. The State Legislature; III. The State Executive; IV. The State Supreme Court; V. The Social Welfare Provisions of State Constitutions; VI. Finance and Taxation; VII. Practices and Trends in State Constitutional Provisions for Education; VIII.

Some Problems of County Government; IX. The Amendment and Revision of the Tennessee Constitution.

Tennessee Serials, Together with the Holdings of Tennessee Libraries. Compiled by Mary E. Baker. (Knoxville; Privately printed, 1937. 57 pp. 30c.)

"In 1929, members of the Tennessee Library Association made a study of the H. W. Wilson Union List of Serials with a view to determine the extent to which Tennessee imprints contained in it were represented in Tennessee Libraries. The results of this study, together with a number of additional titles, were reported to the Association at its annual meeting and proved so interesting that it was determined to continue the search for titles and for representative files, and to make the resultant bibliography as complete as possible.

"A list of the holdings of growing libraries can never be final. The most which can be said of this compilation is that an effort has been made to assemble the greatest possible number of titles, to supply accurate imprint data and to list the holdings of Tennessee libraries, so far as the catalogs of these libraries have covered them. Items not within the scope of the Wilson list have been included when a knowledge of them, and of the location of files, has seemed of sufficient interest to Tennessee Libraries." (Foreword.)

Inventory of the County Archives of Tennessee, No. 33. *Hamilton County (Chattanooga).* Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, Works Progress Administration. (Nashville: The Historical Records Survey, 1937. 130 pp.)

"Deposited in the some three thousand courthouses of America is a great mass of public records of priceless historical value. The Inventory of County Archives, the first undertaking of the Survey, expects to list and describe the county records of America. The Survey was launched as an undertaking of the Works Progress Administration, on a nation-wide scale, in January, 1936, and is now operating in each of the forty-eight states. Operations were begun in Tennessee in April of that year. Hamilton County was one of the first counties opened. Field work there was completed in a little less than a year. The Survey has been completed or is now operating in some twenty-five other counties of the state. . . .

"In Hamilton, as in most counties of the state, the Survey has been graciously and enthusiastically received. If the unqualified enthusiasm of county officials, historians, attorneys and students of government for the Survey is a true indication of its worth, then the money expended and the unflagging enthusiasm of the workers will have been a profitable investment. Already the Survey over the nation has made discoveries that have, directly or indirectly, meant a large saving of money and effort to counties and to litigants. Examples have been discovery of chancery papers that has enabled the courts to make an inexpensive settlement, the discovery of lands that had been escaping taxation and the finding of unopened letters containing checks and

currency. Several hundred dollars have been found in Tennessee in the form of uncancelled checks payable to the counties. . . .

"The records entered in this inventory are those that were available on April 1, 1936. The sketches preceding the entries have carried the bureaus through the legislative session of 1935." (Preface.)

Following a brief historical sketch of Hamilton county and a description of its records system, the records of thirty-four separate county offices are inventoried.

Twenty-four Hundred Tennessee Pensioners: Revolution - War of 1812. Compiled by Zella Armstrong. (Chattanooga: The Lookout Publishing Company, 1937. 121 pp. $5.00.)

"Lists of soldiers who received pension under the several Pension Acts were published by Act of Congress. The pensioners who were living in 1840 were listed in the Census of that year and their names were published.

"In the lists the names are arranged by counties and not then always alphabetically, thus making research extremely difficult and tedious even if the researcher should have access to all the government lists which can happen in few libraries as they are practically out of print. . . .

"The majority of the soldiers in the following list were veterans of the Revolution. War of 1812 service is indicated by '1812' in parenthesis when the fact was personally known to the compiler or is indicated in the text as service in Tennessee troops or U. S. troops, neither of these phrases being possible for Revolutionary service. The age of the pensioner is also a factor in determining service as men of sixty years or less in 1840 could not have served in the Revolution. They were therefore in the War of 1812, the Indian campaigns or in rare cases invalid dependents of soldiers.

"It is interesting that only two fraudulent applications were made and granted. These two pensions were stopped as it was proved that the men did not serve in the Revolution." (Foreword.)

The Great Smoky Mountains. By Laura Thornborough. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1937. xii + 147 pp. $2.00.)

"This book is written from an actual, intimate knowledge of the Great Smoky Mountains and mountain people covering many years. I was born and reared in sight of the Great Smokies. I have a cottage in the heart of the mountains, have lived among the people, and have climbed the higher peaks and explored the nearby places, frequently in the companionship of my mountain friends and neighbors.

"When I discover new trails and find new beauties I feel an intense desire to share this knowledge with others and shout this discovery to the whole world. Here I have attempted to answer questions that are being asked by travelers who are coming to this wonderful new National Park in ever-increasing numbers.

"The photographs used were made by or for the author especially for this book, unless otherwise indicated.

"I have supplemented my own observations with those of authorities in related fields, and have gone to original sources for data wherever possible. Much information has been supplied by my friends among the mountain people. . . ." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. The Great Smoky Mountains Domain; II. History of the Park and of the Mountain People; III. The Naturalists' Paradise; IV. The Birds, the Beasts, and the Fish; V. The 100-Mile Scenic Loop; VI. To the Top of the Mountains and Along Their Crest; VII. A Visit to the Cherokee Indian Reservation; VIII. Trips from Ashville, Waynesville, and Bryson City; IX. Trips In and Around Gatlinburg; X. More Trips Near Gatlinburg; XI. The Appalachian Trail; XII. Trails Up Mt. LeConte; XIII. Camp Sites—and a Final Word.

Some Memories. By Thomas Frank Gailor. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1937. xviii + 339 pp. $2.50.)

This is the posthumous autobiography, together with a diary, of the third bishop of Tennessee, first president of the National Council of the Episcopal Church and chancellor of the University of the South, 1908-1935. The introduction, written by the Rt. Rev. James Craik Morris, bishop of Louisiana, states that the papers comprising the volume "are mainly parts of diaries and sketches of persons he loved and admired, or of incidents which he felt had value as foot-notes to history. Of himself he says next to nothing, and so it comes about that what he actually was, in the depth of his character and personality, must be left untold. The papers have been brought together by his children, and edited by Tudor Seymour Long, Associate Professor of English at Sewanee, to whom the Bishop sent some of his manuscript before his death. The Bishop of Atlanta has carried the story of his life through the years he spent in New York as President of the National Council and with wisdom and incredible industry guided the American Church through the difficult period of its reorganization. Of the earlier ministry something ought also to be said and is here essayed, with diffidence and with partiality frankly acknowledged, if only to suggest to the reader what manner of man this was who so captured our imagination and won for himself so passionate a devotion."

The chapters are entitled: I. The Civil War; II. School and College Days; III. The Seminary; IV. Early Ministry; V. Bishop Quintard; VI. Sewanee; VII. Some Friends of Sewanee; VIII. Bishop Coadjutor and Diocesan; IX. General Conventions; X. The World War; XI. The National Council; XII. Two Lambeth Conferences; XIII. Palestine; XIV. Some Sermon Notes; XV. Some Letters of Thomas Frank Gailor; XVI. Conclusion.

Several illustrations are included, but there is no bibliography or index.

Background in Tennessee. By Evelyn Scott. (New York: Robert M. McBride and Company, 1937. 302 pp. $2.75.)

"When it was first suggested to me that I 'write something about Tennessee,' I wondered what I, who had not delved deeply into the history of the

region, could offer that had not been anticipated by scores of historians. In a life already consumed by a variety of antecedent preoccupations, it was not plausible to suppose the dedication of a few months to 'research' would allow me to unearth unsuspected documents or discover facts to reillumine well-thumbed archives. I felt I was prepared neither to be originally informing about the past of the Tennessee people nor to qualify with distinction as a traveler in my native state. Though from 1893, when I was born, until 1909, when I was sixteen, I was never absent from Tennessee for more than a few months together, the impressions of the locality I carried with me into a voluntary exile which lasted twenty years were derived from such exclusively personal associations I doubted they could supply anything generally informing. All I possessed which might be regarded as Tennessee documenta to be presented to a public, seemed to be myself. . . .

"And yet, I decided, on second thought, surely the doubt engendered by these reflections was inconsistent and contradictory, since it has always been a part of my philosophy to assume that the individual experience, set forth honestly, is bound to reveal aspects that are typical and have a catholic significance of some sort or other. . . . And so I dare recall a Tennessee which is neither represented in textbooks, nor wholly indicated in old records; and not actually visible to the most alert eye of a traveler sojourning for a while among southerners on his way to somewhere else. This, though the artificiality of mathematically arbitrary time measurement is never more apparent than when one hesitates midway toward the nonexistingness of the self after death and contemplates the new chapter assumed to have begun with one's birth!" (Pages 1-3.)

This book, by a noted Tennessee novelist, is to a certain extent an autobiography; but in addition to giving her recollections of her own life in Tennessee, it traces the careers of three generations of her ancestors in the state, interweaving with cleverness, charm, and accuracy a considerable amount of the history of the region, drawn mainly from dependable secondary accounts.

BOOK RECEIVED

Old Frontiers: The Story of the Cherokee Indians from Earliest Times to the Date of their Removal to the West in 1838. By John P. Brown. (Kingsport, Tennessee: Southern Publishers, Inc., 1938. xi + 570 pp. $3.75.)

NOTES AND NEWS*

At the annual dinner of the East Tennessee Historical Society October 15, in Knoxville, Philip M. Hamer, chief of the Library Division of the National Archives, presented an address, "Preserving the Nation's History." Photographs illustrating the work of the National Archives were exhibited.

The Calvin M. McClung Award was presented to Powell Moore of Indiana University for his contribution, "James K. Polk and Tennessee Politics, 1839-1841," to *Publications,* number 9. The judges of this contest were Dr. Solon J. Buck of the National Archives and Professors Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, and Mack Swearingen, of Tulane University.

November 14, the Society met in Chattanooga at Hotel Patten. Professor G. W. Follen, co-principal of Webb School, Bellbuckle, was the guest speaker and his subject, "Tennessee in the Revolution." A luncheon was served to ninety-nine guests as this occasion was also the ninety-ninth anniversary of the founding of the city. Four former mayors of Chattanooga were especially invited guests, and also representatives among descendants of mayors not now living.

Officers and editors for 1938 were elected at the December meeting as follows: Mary U. Rothrock, president; Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga, Joseph A. Sharp, Knoxville, and Judge S. C. Williams, Johnson City, vice-presidents; Laura E. Luttrell, secretary; Lucile Deaderick, treasurer; J. B. Sanders and Culver H. Smith, members of the executive committee; S. J. Folmsbee, managing editor; P. M. Hamer and Judge S. C. Williams, editors. V. M. Queener had been chosen, by the executive committee, editorial associate.

The West Tennessee Historical Society held a dinner meeting in Memphis in February at the Y. M. C. A. which was presided over by Reverend Josiah Sibley. J. L. Highsaw spoke stressing the need of conserving historical material, and W. C. Teague spoke of events in the life of Andrew Jackson. A resolution approving the proposed International Exposition in 1941 at Memphis to commemorate the discovery of the Mississippi by DeSoto was adopted.

The third annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association was held, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, November 18-20, at Durham and at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Daniel M. Robison of Vanderbilt University was the membership chairman for Tennessee.

*Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell and Lucile Deaderick. Unless otherwise indicated all dates refer to 1937.

At the luncheon conference, Friday noon, on "Archives and Manuscripts in the South," Philip M. Hamer discussed "The WPA Survey of Federal Archives." East Tennessee Historical Society members in attendance were Culver H. Smith, S. J. Folmsbee, J. B. Sanders, Mrs. Claude Campbell, P. M. Hamer, Mrs. P. M. Hamer, W. Neil Franklin and V. M. Queener.

A midwest conference of executives of historical agencies met in Chicago, Friday and Saturday, February 26-27. At the Saturday afternoon session the "Survey of Federal Archives" was discussed by Philip M. Hamer, national director.

The Tennessee Historical Society published a general index to volumes 1-9 (1915-1928) of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*. It was prepared under the direction of Professor William C. Binkley of Vanderbilt University.

With Douglas C. McMurtrie as technical adviser the Historical Records Survey has undertaken to make an inventory of early American books, pamphlets, and broadsides in order to make available such printed material for the use of scholars, historians, and others. The date limit for Tennessee is 1840. In each state the program will be in charge of a state director.

Miss Zella Armstrong read a paper, "Newspapers of Chattanooga Before and During the War Between the States," March 11, at the Chattanooga Public Library to the Chattanooga members of the East Tennessee Historical Society. E. Y. Chapin presided at this meeting.

Major George Leonard Berry of Pressman's Home was appointed by Governor Browning, May 6, to succeed to the unexpired term in the United States Senate of the late Nathan Lynn Bachman of Chattanooga. Senator Berry was a major of engineers during the World War. In 1917 he was made president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America. He established the Pressman's Home near Rogersville.

Gordon Browning was inaugurated governor of Tennessee on January 15. He is the first World War veteran to be elected to that office.

John Cromwell Carmichael, a former honorary captain in the British army and a native of Alabama, became chancellor of Vanderbilt University, June 8, succeeding James H. Kirkland, resigned.

Culver H. Smith, head of the department of history, University of Chattanooga, taught at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, during the summer session.

Verton M. Queener, of Maryville College, taught in the department of history, University of Tennessee, during the summer session.

The appointment of Finis J. Garrett as presiding judge of the United States court of customs and patent appeals was confirmed by the Senate, November 30.

Sidney C. Garrison was elected, September 21, by the board of trustees, president of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville. He succeeded the late Bruce Ryburn Payne.

Judge Henry Richard Gibson, only surviving member of the Tennessee constitutional convention of 1870, celebrated his one hundredth birthday December 24 at his home in Washington, D. C. He is the author of *Suits in Chancery*.

At the first annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Washington, Friday and Saturday, June 18-19, Philip M. Hamer discussed the "Federal Archives Outside the District of Columbia."

James H. Kirkland, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, resigned July 1. He had been connected with that institution for forty-four years. A homecoming in his honor was celebrated at the University, July 7.

Miss Hattie Love, a former president of the Knoxville Business and Professional Women's Club, was elected a member of the city council, being the first woman in Knoxville to serve in such a capacity.

John A. Mitchell of Cookeville was appointed by Governor Browning, criminal court judge for the fifth judicial circuit of Tennessee to succeed the late Judge Harry Camp of Sparta.

Harcourt A. Morgan, former president of the University of Tennessee and now a member of the Tennessee Valley Authority, was honored by the University by having the main agricultural building on the University farm named Morgan Hall. At the dedication of the building, November 13, Frank McVey, president of the University of Kentucky, made the main address. A bust of Dr. Morgan, made by Gilbert Switzer, was unveiled by John W. Finney, chairman of the alumni agricultural committee.

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt made three visits to East Tennessee during the year. In April she made a trip to the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, stopping at the Mountain View Hotel in Gatlinburg. From there she went to Cades Cove, Clingman's Dome, and across into North Carolina to the Cherokee Indian Reservation. Colonel David C. Chapman presented to Mrs. Roosevelt a copy of Laura Thornborough's book, *The Great Smoky Mountains*.

On March 25 Mrs. Roosevelt delivered an address in the Alumni Auditorium at the University of Tennessee. An audience of about four thousand people greeted her with applause.

In November, Mrs. Roosevelt accompanied a group of New York women and students upon an inspection trip to Norris Dam and the town of Norris. After a luncheon at Norris, at which David E. Lilienthal, member of the Tennessee Valley Authority, spoke, there was a program in the auditorium during which Mrs. Roosevelt made an address.

Edward Albright, United States minister to Costa Rica and former minister to Finland, died May 25, in Nashville. At the time of his appointment as minister to Finland in 1933, he was publisher of the *Sumner County News* at Gallatin.

Senator Nathan Lynn Bachman, a native of Chattanooga and a former associate justice of the Tennessee supreme court, died in Washington, April 23. He was appointed by Governor Hill McAlister in 1933 to succeed Cordell Hull, who had resigned his place in the United States Senate to become secretary of state in President Roosevelt's cabinet. He was reëlected to the Senate in 1934.

Lewis Melville George Baker, a sustaining member of this Society, died at his home in Knoxville, May 18. He was a graduate of the University of Virginia; in 1888 he came to Knoxville and, with Charles H. Himel, organized a school for boys known as the University, or Baker-Himel, School. Later he became a lawyer; was a member of the Tennessee bar association and of the American bar association.

John H. DeWitt, judge of the state court of appeals and president of the Tennessee Historical Society, died March 7, in Nashville. He was born in Sumner county, 1872; was the son of Reverend Marcus Bearden DeWitt. He was graduated at Vanderbilt University and at what is now the George Washington University in Washington, D. C. He was noted as an authority on the history of the state and a contributor to historical periodicals. He was a former member of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

James Beriah Frazier, former United States senator and twice governor of the state, died at his home in Chattanooga, March 28. He was born in Pikeville; was the son of Thomas Neil Frazier. He graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1878; was admitted to the bar in 1880. His great-grandfather, Samuel Frazier, was a soldier at King's Mountain battle and a delegate to the first (1796) constitutional convention in Tennessee.

Admiral Albert Gleaves, Tennessee naval hero and native of Nashville, died January 6 at his home in Haverford, Pennsylvania. His funeral was held in Washington and burial in Arlington National Cemetery. He was born in 1858, the son of Henry Albert and Eliza Tannehill Gleaves. He graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1877. He took part in the Spanish-American War, and was in charge of transporting the American expeditionary forces to Europe during the World War.

Bruce Ryburn Payne, president of George Peabody College for Teachers, died April 21. He was born in North Carolina, 1874. He graduated from Trinity College, now Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, and received his doctor's degree at Columbia University, 1904.

Melville Patton Reeve of Rockwood died November 19, at the age of ninety years. He was a personal friend of President Andrew Johnson. He had served thirty years as mayor of Greeneville.

September 17, the sesquicentennial anniversary of the signing of the constitution of the United States, a memorial service was held in the First Presbyterian Church cemetery at the grave of William Blount, one of the signers of the constitution and only governor of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio. Frederick A. Ault, a descendant of William Blount, placed a wreath upon the marble slab which covers the grave. J. Pike Powers delivered an address on the constitution and W. T. Kennerly an address on the life of William Blount.

A large picture of "The Signing of the Constitution" was presented to the Blount Mansion Association by the National Society, Colonial Dames. Mrs. B. B. Cates presented the picture and it was accepted by Mrs. W. M. Goodman.

A monument to the Confederate soldiers of Bedford county, placed upon the courthouse square of Shelbyville, was dedicated September 26. The unveiling was done by R. K. Moore, ninety-two years of age, one of the two remaining confederate veterans of the county. The Agnes L. Whiteside chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, sponsored the marker.

A marker at the grave of Robert Cartwright, a revolutionary soldier and Tennessee pioneer, was unveiled June 20 by the Robert Cartwright chapter, Daughters of American Revolution. It is near the old Cartwright home nine miles from Nashville on the Dickerson road which he had surveyed in 1786. Addresses were made by J. A. Cartwright and Frank M. Bass.

At Fort Loudoun, June 9, cornerstones were laid in the four bastions by Mrs. B. B. Cates, representing the National Society, Colonial Dames, which society had previously erected a marker upon the site, by Mrs. John Carson, by J. C. Anderson, and by F. M. Ferguson. This ceremony marked the beginning of the restoration of the fort. Hobart Cooper directed the excavation of the remains of the fort through cooperation of the WPA, the state highway department, and the Fort Loudoun Association. The highway department built a road from highway number 33 to the fort. John Carson and J. C. Anderson gave the land upon which the site is located. The fort was constructed in 1756-1757 by South Carolinians but was surrendered to the Indians in 1760.

A tablet to mark the site of the fort built at Goodlettsville by Casper Mansker and also one to mark the site of Walton's camp ground were dedicated June 27 by the Robert Cartwright chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. Walton's camp ground was used as a place of worship nearly fifty years. The Methodist Church of the Cumberland district assisted in the dedicatory service.

A memorial shaft to honor Henry Massengill, pioneer settler and soldier of the Watauga, also officer of the Watauga Association, was dedicated, October 10, near Johnson City at the junction of Kingsport and Bristol highways. The shaft was erected by Dr. S. E. Massengill of Bristol. Judge S. C. Williams, historian, delivered an address.

The Polk Memorial Association of Nashville was bequeathed $2,000 by Mrs. Rollin P. Grant. Mrs. Grant, formerly Sadie Polk Fall, a grandniece of President James K. Polk, died in New York, June 4. She was buried in Nashville.

A museum of Cherokee Indian relics has been established at Gatlinburg by George D. Barnes of Dayton.

The McGhee Tyson Airport, in Blount county, was named and dedicated, October 10, in honor of Knoxville's first World War hero to fall in line of duty. About 15,000 people witnessed the airplane maneuvers, sham battles, and acrobatics and heard the dedicatory address delivered by the Knoxville city manager, George R. Dempster, in place of Governor Browning who could not be present. General Cary Spence was the chairman of the dedicatory committee. McGhee Tyson was the only son of General Lawrence Davis Tyson, soldier, lawyer and statesman. Mrs. Kenneth Gilpin, sister of the hero, was honor guest of the dedication ceremony. The airport was sponsored by the city of Knoxville, Blount county, Maryville, and Alcoa in coöperation with the Works Progress Administration.

The new United States marine hospital at Memphis was dedicated June 12. A tablet on the main building was unveiled by Marion Ann Lombard, daughter of Dr. M. S. Lombard, senior surgeon in charge. Congressman Chandler made the dedicatory address.

During the visit to Nashville in 1936 of Mrs. William A. Becker, president-general of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, a bronze marker was placed upon the church built at the Hermitage by Andrew Jackson. The marker was presented by the Rachel Stockley Donelson chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution. The unveiling ceremony was conducted by Mrs. Wallace Long, regent of the chapter and a fifth generation grandniece of Rachel Jackson.

The Mount Olive Baptist Church, Knox county, celebrated its centennial by a week of daily services, May 16-23. Reverend Stephen S. Grigsby is the present pastor.

The cornerstone for a new church building was laid at the Strawberry Plains Methodist Church, South, September 5. This church was organized more than a century ago. Reverend F. B. Shelton, Knoxville district presiding elder, and Dr. James L. Kennedy, former missionary to Brazil, laid the cornerstone. Reverend Isaac P. Martin, historian of Holston conference, sent an address, "Highlights from the Religious Life of Strawberry Plains," to be read at the service.

The Roman Catholic Diocese of Nashville celebrated its centennial, October 3-5. The main part of the services occurred at the Cathedral of the Incarnation. The Most Reverend William L. Adrian, bishop of Tennessee, was host. The Most Reverend Amletto Cicognani of Washington, D. C., apostolic delegate to the United States, attended the anniversary and conducted the solemn pontifical high mass on the final morning of the celebration. The conclusion of the three day program was the presentation of a pageant depicting historic events in the diocese.

Sumner county celebrated the sesquicentennial of the organization of its first county court, October 10-14, at Gallatin. There were special services, including music, in the churches; a tour of historic places of the county; patriotic addresses; parades and community singing.

Tennessee's first state-wide adult education conference held a three-day session in Knoxville, July 26-28. This conference was sponsored by the Knoxville-Knox county adult education council and the University of Tennessee. Miss Helen Harris, president of the council, presided at the meetings.

The senior history students of the Knox county Central High School, Fountain City, worked out a four weeks' project through research of old records and interviews with pioneers to learn the history of Knoxville and Knox county. They wrote sketches, made charts, maps, miniature forts, cabins, and mills. They also collected relics and placed them in the school as the nucleus of an historical museum. The students gave to their public performance the title, "Discovering and Presenting Knox County to the Public." Miss Nannie Lee Hicks, head of the history department, directed the research under the supervision of L. G. Derthick, state high school supervisor for East Tennessee.

Twenty-one photographic views of Knoxville from 1859 to 1920 were presented to the McClung Historical Collection of the Lawson McGhee Library, in June, by Mrs. Robert L. Foust. This collection of pictures was made by her late husband.

The Southern Folklore Quarterly, published at the University of Florida, Gainesville, and edited by Alton C. Morris, began its first volume in January.

John Alexander Kelley contributed a history of the "Kelsey" family to *The Lookout* (published at Chattanooga, by Zella Armstrong) April 9 and 16.

In the Sunday issues of the Chattanooga *Times* there continues to appear the genealogical department conducted by Mrs. Penelope J. Allen. In addition to family sketches there are some records of Jefferson and Rhea counties.

Miss Zella Armstrong contributed to the Chattanooga *Times,* August 22, "The Chattanooga Daily Rebel," with facsimile illustration.

Reverend J. M. Wooten of Cleveland contributed to the Chattanooga *Times* of January 3, a sketch of the Cleveland *Banner;* and to the issue of March 7, the "Edmond Ramsey Family."

"Tennessee's New Helmsman," a sketch of Gordon Browning, with portrait, by Fred Hixson, was published in the Chattanooga *Times,* January 17.

"War Comes to Gatlinburg," by P. H. Maxwell, appeared in the Knoxville *Journal* of November 21. It is a brief sketch of Civil War operations in the Great Smoky Mountains in which the Cherokee Indians, led by Colonel Thomas, had a part.

"The Norwood Inn and Other Early Inns of Blount County in Stage Coach Days," by Mrs. Thomas F. Broady, was published in the Maryville *Enterprise,* April 22 and 29.

The Nashville *Banner* published a number of historical sketches: "Nashville Female Academy," by Miriam Brooks, June 27; "Tennessee Has Given Five Justices to the United States Supreme Court," by Pauline Moncrief, March 14; "Elijah Robertson's Tavern," by M. B. Morton; "Wiley Oakley, Guide in Smoky Mountains," by Warner Ogden, March 14.

A review of *Woodville,* the first Tennessee novel, appeared in the Nashville *Tennessean,* May 23. Most of it is quoted from a review by the late Dr. George F. Mellen of Knoxville, which was published in the Knoxville *Sentinel* some years ago.

DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS

Weymouth T. Jordan is professor of history at the Cherokee Indian Normal School, Pembroke, North Carolina.

Joseph H. Parks is associate professor of history at the West Tennessee State Teachers' College, Memphis, Tennessee.

Samuel C. Williams, a prominent legalist of Johnson City, Tennessee, is an acknowledged authority on the history of Tennessee.

Paul M. Fink is a banker of Jonesboro, Tennessee, and a prominent member of the Smoky Mountains Hiking Club.

Mary R. Campbell, Maryville, Tennessee, since obtaining her Ph.D. degrees in history at Vanderbilt University in June, 1937, has been engaged in independent research.

J. A. Sharp is a teacher at Rule Junior High School, Knoxville, Tennessee.

James A. Padgett is professor of history at Brenau College, Gainesville, Georgia.

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